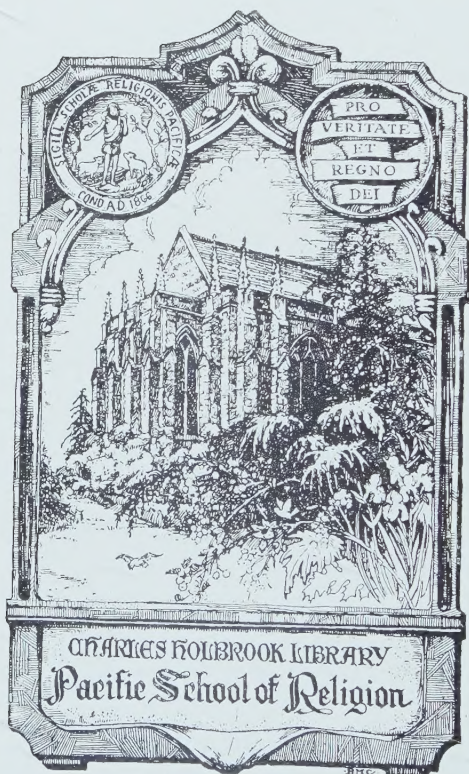
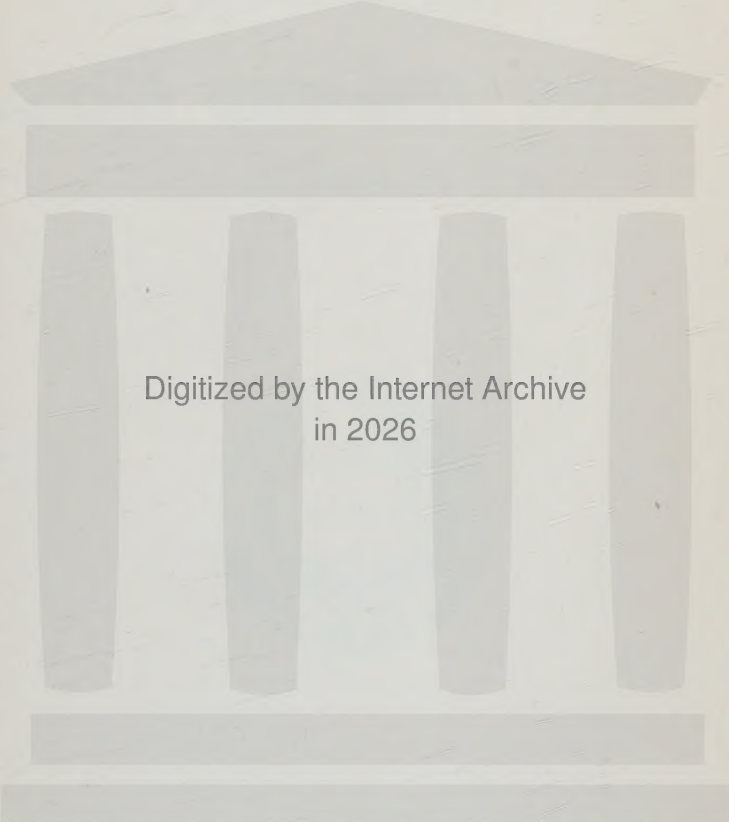


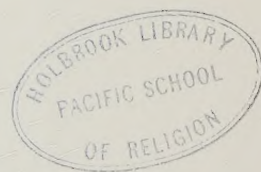


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The Lord Baltimore Press
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

*This publication is
affectionately dedicated
to
Dr. Cyrus Adler
Past President
on the occasion of his
seventieth birthday*

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

President:

DR. A. S. W. ROSENBACH, Philadelphia, Pa.

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HON. SIMON W. ROSENDALE, Albany, N. Y.;

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(Term expiring with the 42nd Annual Meeting.)

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DR. CYRUS ADLER, Philadelphia, Pa.,

ex-officio, as Past President of the Society.

PREFACE.

The present volume is devoted largely to Dr. Cyrus Adler, who had no direct share in the part of it which deals with him.

The preparation and editing of this publication were entrusted to the following committee on publication: Albert M. Friedenberg, chairman; Prof. Alexander Marx, and Dr. Cyrus Adler. Dr. Rosenbach served *ex-officio* as a member of this committee.

OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of America, and to promote the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal lent no inconsiderable aid to the voyages that led to the discovery of America, that a few accompanied the earliest discoverers and that Jews were among the first settlers on this continent, and in its adjacent islands. Considerable numbers saw service in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, some of them with great distinction. Others contributed liberally to the Continental treasury, at critical periods, to aid in the establishment of Independence. Since the foundation of our government, Jews have played an active part in the political affairs of the country, and have been called upon to hold important public positions. The records of the achievements of these men will, when gathered together, prove of value and interest to the historian, and perchance cast light upon some obscure parts of the history of our country.

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THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The thirty-eighth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held at the new library building of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, northeast corner of Broadway and 122d Street, in the city of New York, in the evening of November 14, and the morning of November 15, 1931. At the close of the evening session an opportunity was provided to examine the exhibition of rare books, MSS., and historical letters and documents relating to the Jews in America, constituting the Rosenbach collection, donated in 1931 by the president in memory of his mother, Isabella H. Rosenbach, one of the first members of the Society.

The president, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, was in the chair, and the recording secretary, Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Neuman, was the secretary of the meeting. The president's annual address was presented at the evening session.¹

The officers presented their annual reports. The following was submitted by Albert M. Friedenbergl, corresponding secretary:

Herewith I submit my twenty-first report as corresponding secretary. The present covers the period since June 7, 1930, the date of the thirty-seventh annual meeting of the Society.

1. *Membership*.—On June 7, 1930, the Society had 29 corresponding members and 384 patrons and life and regular members, a total of 413 names. Since then 20 regular members resigned, 11 were dropped from membership and 21 died. In addition 3 corresponding members died. Ten persons were elected regular members.

In addition 1 regular and 1 life member were restored to the roll.

To-day the Society possesses 26 corresponding members and 344 patrons and life and regular members—370 in all. This loss in the number of our supporters—apart from the normal encroachments of

¹ See *infra*, p. 1 *et seq.*

death—may be directly attributed to the prevailing depression from which our country and the entire world are suffering.

2. *Publication*.—*Publication* No. 32 was issued and distributed on April 1. It has been approvingly commended. The publication committee will start on the preparation of a new publication immediately.

3. *Collection*.—At the stated meeting of the executive council, March 4, the president presented his collection of books, pamphlets, MSS., and autograph letters, gathered over a period of thirty years, as a gift to the Society in memory of his mother, the late Isabella H. Rosenbach, one of the first members of the Society. This notable gift, which is elsewhere more specifically described, makes the Society's collections distinguished and outstanding.

At the same meeting the executive council appointed Edward D. Coleman, a bibliographer of approved competence, to be librarian of the Society and assistant to the president. Mr. Coleman, since entering upon the duties of his appointment, has rendered the collections of the Society readily accessible to scholars, students and readers. The members are urged to examine the collections of the Society, ably presided over by Mr. Coleman, at any reasonable hour. They are splendidly and conveniently housed in the headquarters of the Society, on the fifth floor of this beautiful building.

4. *Deaths among the members*.—We mourn the loss of twenty-four faithful friends of the American Jewish Historical Society.

The Rev. Rabbi Professor Doctor Sir Hermann Gollancz, Kt., Professor George Foot Moore of Harvard University, and Lucien Wolf, of London, were the corresponding members who passed away. Professor Gollancz presented a paper at an annual meeting many years ago. Professor Moore contributed a useful note to *Publication* No. 28 and, at all times, was deeply interested in the work of the Society. Mr. Wolf, founder and five times president of The Jewish Historical Society of England, was a distinguished journalist and historian, and those who enjoyed the hospitality of his venerable London home will never forget his delightful personality.

David Scheyer filled a niche in the Detroit community. David Aaron, of New York, was loved and respected by those privileged to call him friend. Nathan Bijur, Samuel Greenbaum and Joseph E. Newburger had all been justices of the supreme court of the state of New York with credit to themselves and satisfaction to the citizens of the commonwealth. Joseph Silverman was for a long number of years a rabbi of Temple Emanu-El of New York. Daniel Guggenheim in his day was an outstanding figure in our communal life. August Kohn, of Columbia, S. C., was an interested and devoted student of American Jewish history.

Joseph E. Sulzberger was a beloved figure in Philadelphia Jewry and David N. Mosessohn, of New York, died all too soon, a man who in his time had filled many parts. The late Walter H. Liebmann contributed a paper to *Publication* No. 17 and was always interested in the work of the Society. Ben Selling was one of the most prominent Jews living on the Pacific Coast.

Morris Rosenbaum's passing was mourned by a large circle of his admirers in Philadelphia, and the late Albert Wolf and William Gerstley, of the same city, enjoyed the respect and affection of all who knew them. A long and useful life was vouchsafed to Julius J. Frank, of New York, and Mortimer L. Schiff was the distinguished son of a distinguished father. American Jewry is all the poorer in that within the short space of eleven years Mortimer L. Schiff joined Jacob H. Schiff in that undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveler has yet returned.

Bernard Ginsburg, of Detroit, and William Levy, of Baltimore, were figures of importance in their own communities, while Lee K. Frankel and Moses J. Stroock, of New York, were outstanding communal workers whose deaths are deeply regretted.

The curator submitted his report.² As treasurer, Mr. Hendricks presented his reports for the fiscal years, October 1, 1929, to October 1, 1930, and October 1, 1930, to October 1, 1931. They were referred to Dr. George Alexander Kohut and Captain N. Taylor Phillips, of New York, as a committee of audit, and read as follows:

OCTOBER 1, 1929, TO OCTOBER 1, 1930.

REPORT OF TREASURER.

GENERAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1929.....	\$ 616.48
Dues	1,752.50
Sales of publications.....	55.85
Interest	181.36
	\$2,606.19

² See p. xxvii *et seq.*

EXPENSES.

Disbursements, corresponding secretary's office.....	\$ 595.00
Disbursements, curator's office.....	212.33
Fire insurance premium.....	9.21
Printing, etc., 37th annual meeting.....	38.25
Billheads	10.50
Exchanges	.25
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1930.....	1,740.65
	\$2,606.19

EQUIPMENT FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Donations	\$9,900.00
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1930.....	\$9,900.00

RESEARCH FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1929.....	\$2,627.97
--	------------

EXPENSES.

G. R. G. Conway, research in Mexico City.....	\$ 257.73
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1930.....	2,370.24
	\$2,627.97

HELEN C. ROSENDALE MEMORIAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1929.....	\$1,099.40
Interest	50.27
	\$1,149.67
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1930.....	\$1,149.67

STATEMENT OF ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY.

General fund	\$1,740.65
Equipment fund	9,900.00
Research fund	2,370.24
Helen C. Rosendale memorial fund.....	1,149.67
	\$15,160.56

OCTOBER 1, 1930, TO OCTOBER 1, 1931.

REPORT OF TREASURER.

GENERAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1930.....	\$1,740.65
Dues	1,635.00
Sales of publications.....	52.50
Refund on insurance premiums.....	2.81
Interest	507.16
	\$3,938.12

EXPENSES.

Disbursements, corresponding secretary's office.....	\$ 385.00
Disbursements, curator's office.....	136.98
Salary and expenses of librarian.....	1,054.10
Printing and distributing <i>Publication</i> No. 32.....	974.32
Printing, etc., 38th annual meeting.....	27.50
Stationery	30.35
Fire insurance premiums.....	131.69
Moving expenses	240.75
Contribution toward compilation of " Writings on American History "	25.00
Cleaning and sorting books.....	26.00
Repairing glass	6.00
Exchanges	.25
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1931.....	900.18
	\$3,938.12

EQUIPMENT FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1930.....	\$9,900.00
Donation	200.00
	\$10,100.00

EXPENSES.

On account furniture and furnishings in new quarters.....	\$5,666.45
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1931.....	4,433.55
	\$10,100.00

RESEARCH FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer October 1, 1930.....	\$2,370.24
---	------------

EXPENSES.

Archivist Dylsma, Samuel Oppenheim annotations (1927)...	\$ 19.02
G. R. G. Conway, research in Mexico City.....	323.83
Leon Kupperman, translation of Roumanian article on the mission to Roumania of Benjamin F. Peixotto.....	85.00
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1931.....	1,942.39
	\$2,370.24

ABRAHAM ERLANGER FUND.

RECEIPTS.

On account of legacy (70%).....	\$1,750.00
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1931.....	\$1,750.00

HELEN C. ROSENDALE MEMORIAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1930.....	\$1,149.67
Interest	52.56
	\$1,202.23
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1931.....	\$1,202.23

STATEMENT OF ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY.

General fund	\$ 900.18
Equipment fund	4,433.55
Research fund	1,942.39
Abraham Erlanger fund.....	1,750.00
Helen C. Rosendale memorial fund.....	1,202.23
	\$10,228.35

Levi Hershfield, Dr. Walter M. Kraus, and Edward D. Coleman, all of New York, were appointed by the chair a committee to nominate officers and additional members of the executive council of the Society. On their report the following were unanimously elected:

President, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, Philadelphia; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y.; Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, New York City; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, Ohio; Capt. N. Taylor Phillips and Max J. Kohler; Corresponding Secretary, Albert M. Frieden-

berg, all of New York City; Recording Secretary, Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Neuman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Treasurer, Henry S. Hendricks; Curator, Leon Huhner, both of New York City. Additional Members of the Executive Council (for a term of three years ending with the forty-first annual meeting of the Society): Lee M. Friedman, Boston, Mass.; Dr. George Alexander Kohut, New York; Hon. Julian W. Mack, Chicago, Ill.; Lessing J. Rosenwald, Philadelphia, Pa.

The following papers were read:

"Two sermons of Jellinek's on American subjects," by Dr. George Alexander Kohut.

(1) "The conversion of Abraham Kirkar, New York, 1848"; (2) "The Hebra Gemiluth Hasadim, New York, 1784-1790"; (3) "The threat to the Chatham Square Cemetery in the eighteenth century"; (4) "Moses Cohen Dazavedo: sermon preached by him on the Revolution in London, December 13, 1776," by Rev. Dr. David de Sola Pool.

"The origin, wives and children of Moses Levy," by Dr. Walter M. Kraus.

"The Mears family and their connections, 1696-1824," by Miss Iyda R. Hirsh.

"Plays of Jewish interest on the American stage, 1752-1820," by Edward D. Coleman.

"The German Jewish congregation at Madison, Wis., 1850-1931," by Nathan Berman.

"Are there Jews in America, and where are they to be found? A translation from Schudt," by Rabbi Max Malina.

(1) "Jewish references in the will of Elias Boudinot"; (2) "Captain J. G. Stedman's 'Narrative of a five-year expedition against the revolted negroes of Surinam . . . from the year 1772 to 1777,' and its Jewish interest"; (3) "References to M. M. Noah and A. Phillips, 1821-1822, in 'The theatrical life of Joe Cowell, Comedian, written by himself,'" by George J. Miller.

"Jews naturalized in New York colony and serving as jurors," by Dr. Richard B. Morris.

"Honeymoons in ancient Israel," by Rabbi David B. Swiren.

"Baron Maurice de Hirsch, a centenary estimate," by Max J. Kohler.

The following papers were read by title:

(1) "Heine in America"; (2) "An unrecorded pamphlet on the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia by David Nassy of Surinam, published November 26, 1793"; (3) "A proposal to improve the lotteries of the United States, patented by Jacob J. Cohen and signed by President Monroe and Vice-President Adams, March 3, 1825"; (4) "An unknown Zionist Rhode Island project of Mordecai Manuel Noah"; (5) "Adah Isaacs Menken's autograph album," by Dr. George Alexander Kohut.

On motion, the thanks of the Society were voted to the directors of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America for their courtesy and hospitality.

THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The thirty-ninth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held at the library building of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 3080 Broadway, in the city of New York, in the evening of October 21, and the morning of October 22, 1933. It took place in the museum of the Society.

The president, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, was in the chair, and the corresponding secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, acted as the secretary of the meeting, in the absence of the recording secretary, Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Neuman. The president's annual address was presented at the first session.¹

The following letters were read :

ALBANY, N. Y., October 17, 1933.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

I deeply regret that by physician's advice and owing to (I hope) a temporary ailment, I will be unable to attend the meeting of the Historical Society on Saturday and Sunday next. I am disappointed at my inability to take part in the proceedings and failure to have the pleasure of meeting our associates, to whom may I ask you to extend friendliest greetings and assurances of abiding interest in the welfare and progress of our Society.

With personal regards,

Sincerely,

S. W. ROSENDALE.

GALVESTON, TEXAS, October, 10, 1933.

MY DEAR MR. FRIEDENBERG:

The prospectus of the thirty-ninth annual meeting is very interesting.

I am sorry indeed that I cannot be with you for the gathering on October 21-22; time and distance prevent! My interest in the American Jewish Historical Society is intensely sustained, nevertheless.

With every good wish believe me to be

Yours faithfully,

HY. COHEN.

¹ See *infra*, p. 11 *et seq.*

The officers presented their annual reports. The following was submitted by Albert M. Friedenberg, corresponding secretary:

The corresponding secretary herewith presents his appropriate report. It covers the period which has elapsed since the thirty-eighth annual meeting of the Society, November 16, 1931, almost two years. In common with the vast majority of persons and their enterprises in this country, and throughout the world, our Society has felt and still feels the incidence of the worldwide hard times. This condition has found its reaction in the diminishing number of our supporters as well as in the volume of our published work. The diminution in the Society's income has produced a diminution in our ability to embark on important scientific undertakings and a retardation in the appearance of a new number in the regular series of our *Publications*. No. 33, the new volume, has been in course of preparation; it will now be pressed to early completion and issuance. In spite of the prevailing economic stress one of our late supporters, M. Warley Platzek, provided for a bequest of one thousand dollars to the Society in his will. I express the hope that other friends of our Society will see fit similarly to follow his example.

On November 16, 1931 the membership of the Society stood: Twenty-six corresponding members, and three hundred and forty-four patrons, life and regular members, a total of three hundred and seventy members. Since that date 21 members resigned, one was dropped, and 3 corresponding and 16 regular members passed away. Against these losses we could elect only three new regular members. To-day, therefore, we number twenty-three corresponding members, and three hundred and nine patrons, life and regular members, a total of three hundred and thirty-two supporters.

The following members of the Society during the period under review were called to their eternal reward.

Max Leopold Margolis, distinguished biblical scholar, professor at the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, died April 2, 1932, at the lamentably early age of sixty-five years. For many years he was a devoted member of our executive council. While the studies which engaged his interest and attention did not specifically fall within the narrow field of American Jewish history, he was deeply concerned with the fortunes of our Society as an agency for the furtherance of the study of Jewish history. We shall not soon look upon his like again.

The three corresponding members who passed away were John Bach McMaster, noted American historian, Jose Toribio Medina, famed student of the records of the Inquisition in South America,

and H. P. Stokes, past president of The Jewish Historical Society of England.

S. Marcus Fechheimer was an important figure in the communal life of Cincinnati. Louis Gerstley belonged to a family of parts and worth which has left its impress on Philadelphia Jewry. Philip S. Henry adorned both Anglo-Jewish and American Jewish life. Henry Illoway was an esteemed and scholarly physician who worthily lived up to his own distinguished Jewish inheritance. Morris Kind belonged to Philadelphia Jewry, no good cause in which failed to enlist his interest. Samson Lachman was a useful communal worker and a native New Yorker of some distinction.

James Loeb belonged to an American family which rose to merited distinction in Jewish annals. He himself took a deep and abiding interest in the advancement of learning and will not soon be forgotten for what he did in this endeavor. M. Warley Platzek, already referred to, was in his prime a justice of the supreme court of New York and, as such, served many years with zeal and fidelity. Abraham Rhinewine, Toronto Jewish journalist, made useful contributions to the historiography of the Jews of the Dominion of Canada, our Northern neighbor. This is not the place where a due estimate of the life and work of Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, may be attempted. Suffice it to say the late Mr. Rosenwald was an important and discriminating friend of our work, as he was of Jewish causes everywhere. Isadore Saks and Simon Sichel, of New York, could well be counted upon to encourage the study of the Jewish past. Cyrus L. Sulzberger was a prominent and intelligent worker in communal fields throughout the country, but more especially in New York, his home for over fifty years. Finally, Paul M. Warburg, really notable as an exponent of the science of finance and a pioneer director of the great Federal Reserve system, lived up four-square to his eminent Jewish heritage and delighted to support every enterprise making for the enhancement of Jewish worth.

We deeply mourn the loss of these friends of our Society.

This concludes my report and, at the same time, the twenty-fourth anniversary of my first election to my present office. Our Society has been generous in extending the terms of its officers. Our distinguished past president served his office twenty-one years; our present respected head has occupied his now for thirteen years. I believe I have the right, therefore, to indulge the thought that my own tenure has been long although scarcely distinguished. I can only hope that it has not altogether been ineffective.

The curator submitted his report.² As treasurer, Mr. Hendricks, presented his reports for the fiscal years, October

² See p. xxxii *et seq.*

1, 1931, to October 1, 1932, and October 1, 1932, to October 1, 1933. They were referred to Dr. George Alexander Kohut and Captain N. Taylor Phillips, of New York, as a committee of audit, and read as follows:

OCTOBER 1, 1931, TO OCTOBER 1, 1932.

REPORT OF TREASURER.

GENERAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1931.....	\$ 900.18
Dues	1,432.50
Sales of publications.....	15.17
Interest	287.64
	\$2,635.49

EXPENSES.

Disbursements, corresponding secretary's office.....	\$ 40.00
Salary and expenses of librarian.....	1,905.93
Printing, etc., 38th annual meeting.....	27.50
Stationery, warrants, etc.....	28.30
Miscellaneous services and supplies for library.....	202.85
Telephone	28.30
Federal tax, exchanges.....	1.49
Books, etc., purchased by librarian.....	30.00
Contribution toward compilation of " Writings on American History "	25.00
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1932.....	346.12
	\$2,635.49

EQUIPMENT FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1931.....	\$4,433.55
--	------------

EXPENSES.

Balance in full payment of furniture and furnishings.....	\$3,267.00
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1932.....	1,166.55
	\$4,433.55

RESEARCH FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1931.....\$1,942.39

EXPENSES.

G. R. G. Conway, research expenses in Mexico City.....\$ 355.18

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1932..... 1,587.21

\$1,942.39

ABRAHAM ERLANGER FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1931.....\$1,750.00

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1932.....\$1,750.00

HELEN C. ROSENDALE MEMORIAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1931.....\$1,202.23

Interest 48.80

\$1,251.03

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1932.....\$1,251.03

STATEMENT OF ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY.

General fund.....\$ 346.12

Equipment fund..... 1,166.55

Research fund..... 1,587.21

Abraham Erlanger fund..... 1,750.00

Helen C. Rosendale memorial fund..... 1,251.03

\$6,100.91

OCTOBER 1, 1932, TO OCTOBER 1, 1933.

REPORT OF TREASURER.

GENERAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1932.....\$ 346.12

Dues 1,199.00

Sales of publications 69.04

Legacy, M. Warley Platzek..... 1,000.00

Interest 164.29

\$2,778.45

EXPENSES.

Disbursements, corresponding secretary's office.....	\$ 61.00
Salary and expenses of librarian.....	1,870.87
Printing, 39th annual meeting.....	8.25
Miscellaneous services and supplies for library.....	62.19
Telephone	33.40
Billheads, envelopes and postage for treasurer.....	24.10
Jewish Publication Society, refund on overpayment for publications	.90
Federal tax, exchanges.....	2.53
Plate glass insurance premiums on show-cases.....	282.75
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1933.....	432.46
	\$2,778.45

EQUIPMENT FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1932.....	\$1,166.55
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1933.....	\$1,166.55

RESEARCH FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1932.....	\$1,587.21
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1933.....	\$1,587.21

ABRAHAM ERLANGER FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1932.....	\$1,750.00
Balance in full of legacy.....	750.00
	\$2,500.00
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1933.....	\$2,500.00

HELEN C. ROSENDALE MEMORIAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1932.....	\$1,251.03
Interest	44.33
	\$1,295.36
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1933.....	\$1,295.36

STATEMENT OF ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY.

General fund.....	\$ 432.46
Equipment fund.....	1,166.55
Research fund.....	1,587.21
Abraham Erlanger fund.....	2,500.00
Helen C. Rosendale memorial fund.....	1,295.36
	<u>\$6,981.58</u>

The nominating committee to nominate officers and additional members of the executive council of the Society presented its report. The following were thereupon unanimously elected:

President, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, Philadelphia, Pa.; Vice Presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y.; Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, New York City; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, Ohio; Capt. N. Taylor Phillips and Max J. Kohler; Corresponding Secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, all of New York City; Recording Secretary, Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Neuman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Treasurer, Henry S. Hendricks; Curator, Leon Huhner, both of New York City. Additional Members of the Executive Council (for a term of three years ending with the forty-second annual meeting of the Society): Prof. Salo Baron, and Lewis L. Strauss, Jr., both of New York City; Rabbi Henry Cohen, Galveston, Texas; Morris Wolf, Philadelphia, Pa.; and (for a term of one year ending with the fortieth annual meeting of the Society): Edward D. Coleman, New York City.

The following papers were read:

"Dr. Cyrus Adler's contributions to American Jewish history," by Dr. George Alexander Kohut.

"Robert Grosseteste and the Jews," by Lee M. Friedman.

"Joshua Seixas, Alexander Neubauer and the early Mormon church," by Joseph L. Rubin.

"Services rendered by the Seligmans, Rothschilds and August Belmont to the United States during the Civil War and the 'seventies," by Max J. Kohler and Joseph L. Rubin.

"Gouverneur Morris, father of religious liberty in the state of New York," by Dr. Harold Korn.

"Adah Isaacs Menken, a daughter of Israel," by Allen F. Lesser.

"Jews in the early history of Florida," by Leon Huhner.

"The catalogue of Isaac Aboab's library," by Prof. Alexander Marx.

"A proposed union of American Jews in 1849," by Hyman B. Grinstein.

"Jewish education in New York City before 1881," by Jacob I. Hartstein.

"The Jews of Louisiana," by Leo Shpall.

The following papers were read by title:

"Is Haym Salomon mentioned in the Responsa of Aryeh Loeb ben Hayyim Breslau?" by Dr. Joshua Bloch.

"A study of Brazilian Jewish history, 1623-1654, based chiefly upon the findings of the late Samuel Oppenheim," by Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom.

"A Jewish attitude on the prohibition question, 1874," by Sol Davison.

"The Jews of New York," by Albert M. Friedenberg.

(1) "Early Jews in Middlesex County, New Jersey"; (2) "More about the Jews of New Jersey"; (3) "Judaica in the 'Biblical Repertory: a collection of tracts in Biblical literature,' by Charles Hodge, Princeton, N. J., vols. 1-18, 1825-1846," by George J. Miller.

"Felix Adler and his relations to Judaism," by Rabbi Jacob S. Raisin.

"The decision of Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschütz in a curious case of premature birth," by Rabbi David B. Swiren.

REPORTS OF LEON HUHNER, CURATOR.

The past year has been the most memorable one in the history of the Society. We have been given attractive and spacious rooms in the new library building of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, suitably equipped to house our collections. The Society has also secured the services of Edward D. Coleman, to be its librarian, so that our collections are now made available to students of American Jewish history, not only through a catalogue which the librarian is preparing, but also because the librarian in charge makes our collections accessible at reasonable hours daily.

Over and above these advantages, however, has been the generous and invaluable gift made by our president, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, who donated to the Society his magnificent collection of rare books, pamphlets and MSS. relating to Jewish history. This gift was made in memory of the donor's mother, Isabella H. Rosenbach, who was one of the original members of the Society. It is, indeed, a splendid and lasting memorial.

By reason of this gift our Society can now boast the greatest collection of source-material on American Jewish history in the world, a collection which it would be impossible ever to duplicate for many reasons. Foremost among these is the fact that Dr. Rosenbach is the greatest connoisseur in this field of bibliography, as well as a student of American Jewish history, and owing to his prominence in the book world, has had exceptional opportunities of collecting the rarest items, though often at considerable expense. With him the collection of these books and MSS. was a labor of love, extending over a period of thirty years and, despite his exceptional opportunities to secure bargains, the gift just made, represents an enormous outlay in money.

Every booklover knows that it must require a supreme effort to part with such a collection, and it could, therefore, only have been the donor's ardent desire to establish a notable memorial for the memory of his revered mother, which could have induced him to make so splendid and generous a gift.

The Rosenbach collection consists of about 5500 items, some of which have been in the Rosenbach family for generations. A large part of the books are listed in the donor's elaborate "American Jewish Bibliography," published as No. 30 of our *Publications*. A considerable number of the books, however, are not listed in that work, which, it will be recalled, was limited to books published in America prior to 1850. In this collection are found the first Hebrew grammar, Bible, and almanac published in America, the earliest Jewish newspapers and many rare items containing material relating to Jews in Colonial and Revolutionary times, among which may be mentioned the Solomon Medina case, published in New York in 1728, and many rare documents and MSS. bound together in a special volume. Besides these there are in this collection three distinct groups of documents, each of which is a storehouse of historical material. The first of these consists of original MS. records of the trial of Jews by the Inquisition in Mexico, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The second consists of the Sheftall papers, a large collection covering the period between 1776 and 1790 including Sheftall's Revolutionary career. The third consists of papers relating to the early history of Jews in San Francisco.¹

Besides the gift above mentioned, the Society has added to its collection during the past year 145 books and 220 pamphlets, so that it now possesses 2837 bound volumes and 3796 pamphlets, aside from its substantial collection of documents, pictures and prints.

We have also been fortunate in receiving during the past year a larger number of gifts than ever before. The most important of these are the following:

¹ See *Publications*, No. 31, p. 135 *et seq.*

From Miss Henrietta Clay of Lexington, Ky., the fine collection of letters of Rebecca Gratz covering the period of over half a century, which was obtained through the efforts of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach.

From Mrs. Alice D. Menken, the beautiful old wedding-dress worn by her mother (a member of the Peixotto family) as well as other interesting items.

From G. R. G. Conway, seven volumes of MS. translations of the trials of Jews by the Inquisition in Mexico.

The Society is under deep and lasting obligations to Miss Sarah Lyons who, some years ago, donated to us the great storehouse of historical material collected by her father, Rev. J. J. Lyons, published as the Lyons collection.² Miss Lyons has again manifested her deep interest by the gift of a fine old silver spice-box, as well as a beautiful lace cap which belonged to her mother, a member of the Seixas family.

Hon. N. Taylor Phillips donated a cane which belonged to Mordecai M. Noah.

The following works were presented by their authors or editors:

David W. Amram	"The Jewish Law of Divorce" and fourteen additional pamphlets.
Isaac W. Bernheim	Story of the Bernheim family.
Walter Hart Blumenthal	"In Old America."
Hon. Benjamin N. Cardozo	"Law and Literature," and also four additional items, consisting of essays and addresses, autographed for the Society.
Edward D. Coleman	"The Bible in the English Drama."
Dr. J. Friedmann of Vienna	"Lector M. Friedmann."
Rabbi Israel Goldstein	"A Century of Judaism in New York."
Alexander Harkavy	Memorial of Bella Harkavy.
Charles I. Hoffman	Memoir of Cornelia Kahn.
Edward J. Humphrey	"Nationalism and Religion in America," obtained through Max J. Kohler.
Emanuel Hertz	Several articles on Abraham Lincoln.
Dr. H. Illoway	"Biography and Works of Rabbi Bernard Illoway."
Rev. Dr. Leo Jung	Three volumes of essays.

² *Publications*, Nos. 21 and 27.

Max J. Kohler	"God in Freedom" by Luigi Luzzatti; Mr. Kohler's pamphlet on Haym Salomon.
Rabbi Lee J. Levinger	"Anti-Semitism in the United States."
Rabbi Morris Lazaron	Three volumes edited by him.
Mrs. Sophie Lilienthal	"The Lilienthal Family" (privately printed).
Mrs. Anita Libman Lebeson	"Jewish Pioneers in America."
Rabbi Max Malina	"German Jews in New York after the War."
Dr. Jacob Mann	"Texts and Studies in Jewish History."
Prof. Jacob R. Marcus	"Americanization of Isaac M. Wise."
Prof. George F. Moore	"Judaism in the First Centuries."
Prof. L. C. Moise	"Biography of Isaac Harby."
Mr. and Mrs. Leo Mielziner	"Original answers to questionnaires" by a number of artists, intended for a book on Jewish artists.
Rev. Dr. David Philipson	"Letters of Rebecca Gratz."
Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach	Catalogue of memorable documents in American history.
Dr. Max Radin	"The Pursuit of Gain."
Dr. Wm. Rosenau	"History of Congregation Ohab Shalom," and twelve pamphlets.
Mrs. Helen L. Samuels	Aunt Sister's Book, obtained through Miss Rose Kohler.
Mrs. Hannah London Siegel	"Anglo-Jewish Portraits."
Mrs. Henry Seligman	"The Seligman Family Register" (privately printed) obtained through George S. Hellman.
Peter Wiernik	Revised edition of his "History of the Jews in America."
Adolph Zukor	"Biography of Will Irwin."

In addition the following gifts were made:

Alumni of Hebrew Union College	"Studies and Addresses by Rev. Dr. Kaufmann Kohler.
American Jewish Committee	"Louis Marshall."
The American Hebrew	Three items of Southern Jewish interest.
American Jewish Congress	Twelve reports and pamphlets.
Dr. Joshua Bloch	"Jewish Massacres" and five miscellaneous items.

Albert M. Friedenberg	"Haym Solomon, and the Revolution" by Charles Edward Russell.
Mrs. Julius J. Frank	"The Jewish Encyclopedia," and thirty books of Jewish interest.
Mrs. Jos. Friend	"Autobiography of Julius Weiss," and three pamphlets.
Miss Fanny Goldstein	Clippings and programs relating to Jewish life in Boston.
Dr. Michael Higger	Four Hebrew volumes.
Leon Huhner	Eighteen volumes and twenty pamphlets of Jewish interest as well as a collection of Jewish clippings taken from various newspapers during the year.
Max J. Kohler	Eight books and seven pamphlets of Jewish interest, and also an etched portrait of Louis Marshall, from the collection of the late Lee K. Frankel.
Rev. Isaac Landman	Account written by Madame Agresti of the tribute to David Lubin in Rome, 1930.
Mr. and Mrs. Edward Mamelisdorf	Current numbers of <i>Revue des Etudes Juives</i> .
Geo. J. Miller	Four books of Jewish interest.
Robert L. Noah	Data relating to the Jackson family, obtained through Hon. N. Taylor Phillips.
Adolph S. Ochs	J. B. Henckel's "Contributions of Adolph S. Ochs to Journalism."
Rev. Dr. David deSola Pool	Five documents relating to Isaac Moses and Joshua Moses, obtained by him from an anonymous donor.
Isaac Rivkind	Two items of Jewish interest.
L. J. Rubinstein	One item of Jewish interest.
Max Sparber	One item of Jewish interest.

Among the purchases made during the year was the biography of Moses Mielziner, by Mrs. Leo Mielziner, and a number of autographs including letters by Meyer Kayserling, Karl Goldmark, Auerbach, Crémieux, Chwolson, Disraeli, Lombroso, Lucena of Georgia, 1771, Meyerbeer and Moskowsky.

Dated November, 1931.

During the past year the collections of the Society have been increased by 143 bound volumes, 167 pamphlets, besides the usual number of periodicals. We have also increased our collection of portraits, autographs and other objects of Jewish interest.

Among the purchases are the following:

V. L. Oliver's "Monumental Inscriptions of Barbados," the Reiss etching of Professor Einstein, and a number of interesting autograph letters.

The Society has been particularly fortunate in receiving a considerable number of gifts during the year. By far the most important of these has come to us at this meeting, the valuable collection of books, pamphlets, pictures and autographs of Dr. George A. Kohut who has generously donated it and promised to deliver it to us as soon as it can be catalogued. This collection represents not only a considerable expenditure of money, but many years of labor on the part of its donor. It is the most noteworthy gift received by the Society since that of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, and it will doubtless be a storehouse of historical material for future research workers.

Other noteworthy gifts were as follows:

H. A. Alexander. Photostat extracts from the records of the Charleston congregation in 1800.

Arthur Barnett. "Records of the Western Synagogue 1761-1832."

Miss Laura May Cresson. Daguerreotype portrait of her grandfather, Warder Cresson, U. S. Consul at Jerusalem, who adopted the Jewish faith.

Dr. H. G. Enelow. His edition of *Menorat ha-Meor*, 4 volumes.

George S. Hellman. A valuable collection of autograph material relating to the Spinoza tri-centennial.

Max J. Kohler. A considerable number of books and pamphlets, among them Cecil Roth's "The Marranos of Guyenne"; a transcript of the reminiscences of Isaac Seligman, of London.

Miss Sarah Lyons. A number of pamphlets.

Mrs. Alice D. Menken. Two heirlooms, a pin and a porcelain memorial light, and her own work "On the Side of Mercy."

The City of New York through Dr. Rosenbach. "The Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1784-1831." Twenty-one volumes.

The New York Public Library through Dr. Joshua Bloch. 100 bound books of correspondence of the People's Relief Committee, 1915-1921.

Louis Oppenheim. A number of books and pamphlets from the library of his brother, the late Samuel Oppenheim.

Dr. Solomon Solis-Cohen. An embroidered hood presented to him, used in the ritual of the Order Keshet Shel Barzel.

Besides the foregoing, our library received books, pamphlets and other items from the following donors:

Dr. Cyrus Adler; Edmund H. Abrahams; The American Jewish Committee; Board of Deputies of British Jews; Professor Salo W. Baron; Estate of Joel Blau; Dr. Joshua Bloch; The Boy Scouts of America; Edward D. Coleman; Philip Cowen; The Carnegie Institution of Washington; Mark H. Dix; Prof. Henry Englander; Morris Engleman; M. Getz; Dr. Michael Higger; Alexander Harkavy; the Misses Ethel and Helen Hendricks; B. H. Hartogensis; The Jewish Welfare Board; Dr. Solomon B. Kagan; Benno Lewinson; Rabbi Harry Levi; Rabbi Morris Lazoron; Dr. Hyman Morrison; Miss Blanche Moses; Rabbi Marvin Nathan; Mrs. Frederick Nathan; Adolph S. Ochs; Poalei Zion Organization; Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool; Frank A. Peterson; A. Rhinewine; The Rabbinical Assembly of the Jewish Theological Seminary; Rabbi I. F. Reichert; Miss Emily Solis-Cohen; Harold C. Stein (through Dr. Pool); Allen Tarshish; Z. Tygel; The Utica Public Library; The Union of American Hebrew Congregations; The Washington Bi-centenary Commission; B. Witt; Dr. B. W. Weinberger; The Zionist Organization of America.

In addition to these, 28 volumes and pamphlets were donated by your curator, as well as a large scrap book of clippings from various newspapers relating to the persecution of the Jews in Germany.

Though the past year has brought a larger number of donors than ever before, may I again remind you to mention our collections to your friends with the view of obtaining additional material, so that the same may be permanently preserved in this beautiful building, and make it available to workers in the field of American Jewish history. I reiterate this plea because it is becoming more and more evident that documents and objects of great historical value have been lost in the past, not only by accident, but more often by coming into the possession of persons who have no interest whatever either in research, or in the history of our people.

Dated October, 1933.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.¹

BY A. S. W. ROSENBACH, PH. D., F. A. D.

"Sweet are the uses of Adversity," said William Shakespeare more than three hundred years ago. The Jews in their five thousand years of recorded history have witnessed many an upheaval, to which the present is as nothing. The disorders and calamities of the world have but strengthened their endurance, steeled their resolution, improved, formed and welded their character. Without them, the Jews would scarcely have survived as a race. They, in their long and complex history, had become used to reverses in fortune and to the tempests of this universe.

"Though Time seems so adverse and means unfit," again to quote the great dramatic poet, meant but little to the followers of Moses. Would there were a Moses today to lead the world to better things! The Jews in the olden days went back to their Bible, in which they always found hope and consolation. Perhaps in the precepts of the wise Prophets who fought and suffered in their day, might be found the panacea for present-day conditions. In the first depression that history recounts, the Jews played a leading part. I refer to the seven fat and the seven lean years under the Pharoahs in Egypt.

Financial experts, if such people really exist, which is universally doubted today, go back to history to behold there the trend of business, and trace the causes of panics. The Jews in this country have always been witnesses not only of our prosperity, but of our adversity. Haym Salomon suffered with Robert Morris in the general depression in business which followed the close of the Revolution, particularly in the de-

¹Delivered at the thirty-eighth annual meeting, New York, November 14, 1931.

cline of the currency. Although poor Morris could finance with his private fortune the great war with the mother country, there were few to help him in his hour of need. On February 5, 1798, fifteen years after the official ending of the war, he wrote to John Nicholson:

My Money is gone. My furniture is to be sold. I am to go to Prison and my Family to starve.

Two Jews, his partners in his great land ventures, stood by him: Hyman Gratz and Aaron Levy. Poor Haym Salomon had already passed on to the place where such material things have no existence.

It is interesting to note that fifteen years after the close of the War of 1812, there was another great panic, with securities acting in the way they seem to do after great catastrophies. They, if nothing else, are always true to form! The house of Gratz, consisting of Simon and Hyman, two patriots of unblemished reputation, closed its doors. It is proper that we should turn to history for the details, and we are now fortunate in having this information in our own archives. Rebecca Gratz, writing to Maria Gist Gratz, her sister-in-law, on August 6, 1826, states:

I know too that you will have heard of the fall of this house and both you and our dear Ben [her brother] will want to hear how it has been borne by the lesser as well as the greater sufferers—Well then I believe the anticipation of the evils is hardest to bear—It is “the dreadful note of preparation” and the human mind when prepared may sustain the worst that is permitted—for a fortnight before last Saturday poor Simon’s distressed countenance almost broke my heart, the more so as I dared not speak a word on the subject of his impending ruin—but when the blow was struck I felt as if the worst was over and if I could afford him no more consolation than even Jobs miserable comforters, it was some relief to speak & be spoken to—they have received too so universal a sympathy—so much respect and consideration from the whole community as well those who might expect to suffer by their misfortune as those who only knew them as enterprising citizens—that their hearts must be steel not to have

melted at such kindness—Indeed we have shed more tears of gratitude than grief and I begin to philosophise on the subject—and examine the question whether poverty be such an evil, as it is represented to be—time may enable me to form a judgment, at present I must confess my ignorance—but as I have implicit faith in Scripture and believe firmly in the integrity of my fathers—I do not fear that we shall be forsaken . . . things are not so bad as they appear at a distance . . . the worst is over and we now look forward to better times—the commercial world has been terribly rent in pieces—but the fragments are not totally lost—they may be gathered in patches—and used more prudently in future and they will still be fit for service.

This letter written by the hand of one of the noblest of women, is singularly prophetic. The house of Gratz rose to greater prominence, despite the momentary set-back, which, no doubt, had a chastening effect. Rebecca lived forty-three years after she penned this remarkable letter and in that period witnessed other upheavals, the War with Mexico and the Civil War, with their actions and reactions, and she learned in a long and active life to look upon such things with philosophy and fortitude. If she knew the spiritual value of such reverses, she was also acquainted with the brighter side of life, all of which is reflected in her now celebrated letters.

This leads me to an announcement of the greatest import and interest not only to the members of our Society, but to historians and students throughout the country, the gift of the famous collection known as the Gratz Correspondence. Last year, at the invitation of Miss Henrietta Clay, I paid a visit to Lexington, the site of her ancestral home, as her forbears were pioneers in the settlement of Kentucky. Miss Clay is the daughter of Mrs. Thomas Hart Clay, who was at the time of her death, the last surviving child of Benjamin Gratz, and a niece of Rebecca. It was with a feeling of great reverence that I examined those letters, for they, without doubt, present the truest picture that is known to us, of Jewish life from the Revolution to the Civil War. I, of course, had known of the letters of Rebecca Gratz through the volume issued by the

Jewish Publication Society of America, in which the letters were so ably edited by the Rev. Dr. David Philipson (Philadelphia, 1929). Miss Clay had in her collection many more letters from Rebecca Gratz than were included in Dr. Philipson's important volume. Some of them are of such an intimate character that the family did not care to have them published at that time. The letters of Rebecca Gratz, of which 108 are addressed to Benjamin Gratz, her brother, begin in 1808 and continue almost to the year of her death in 1869. One hundred and thirty-eight are addressed to Maria Gist Gratz, the first wife of Benjamin Gratz, who died in 1841, and 88 are addressed to Ann Boswell Gratz, second wife of Benjamin. In all, there are 376 letters of Rebecca Gratz. Of these, Dr. Philipson has published 193, so there are almost 200 letters still to see the light of day. What a mine of information there is in this collection! In addition to the letters of Fair Rebecca, there are letters of her brothers, Benjamin and Hyman Gratz, as well as many others, including documents and printed pieces. There is a poem by Mrs. Meredith on the death of Rebecca's mother, Miriam, which is addressed to Rebecca.

Not only do these letters of the Gratz family give a picture of Jewish life on the Atlantic Seaboard, but they are by far the best account we have of the settlement of the great Western country. The Gratzes, with Joseph Simon, Aaron Levy and David Franks, had been members of the Illinois and Wabash Company and other great financial enterprises, looking to the exploitation and development of the country west of the Ohio. George Washington, Benjamin Franklin and Robert Morris had been interested with them. They had employed George Croghan and Daniel Boone as their expert guides for this pioneer work on the Western frontier. The Gratz family, however, had all remained in Philadelphia, and, strange as it may seem, no member had left Philadelphia to share in their Western adventures. It is true that Barnard

and Michael Gratz had made many a tour west of the Ohio, but no thought of settlement seemed to have entered their heads. They were too good business men to invest in land without personal investigation and almost every great purchase, whether in Virginia, Illinois, Kentucky or Western Pennsylvania, was made after a thorough personal survey. Of the twelve children of Michael Gratz, the youngest son, Benjamin, was the only one who sought his fortunes in the new country. He left Philadelphia in 1818 at the request of his family, and after visiting various properties connected with his father's interests, finally reached Lexington in 1819, where he remained until his death in 1884. While I was in Lexington, the guest of Miss Clay, I saw concrete evidence of his many activities in his adopted state. Letters which Rebecca wrote to him and he wrote to his favorite sister, are of utmost importance in any investigation of the history of the development and settlement of the now great Western country.

It is now my privilege, on behalf of Miss Henrietta Clay, formally to present this collection to the American Jewish Historical Society, with a request that a calendar be made of the 500 pieces which comprise it, so they may be made available to historians throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Another distinguished gift which it gives me great pleasure to announce, is that made to the Society by Mrs. Mortimer M. Menken, of New York.

Several years ago, in a presidential address,² I referred to the many things besides MSS., letters and documents, that came within the province of the Society to collect and safeguard for future generations. I referred to paintings of Jewish worthies, to the colonial furniture and silver of our fore-

²*Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 31, p. 4 *et seq.*; "Preliminary Announcement of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society to be held in the City of Philadelphia June, 1926" [New York, 1925].

fathers, to the things which decorated their houses, to the clothes and costumes of an older and more picturesque age. Mrs. Menken has graciously presented to the Society articles which I am sure she relinquished with tender regret, as it must have been like parting with old and dear friends. She has given us the wedding dress of her mother, Miriam Maduro Peixotto Davis, which she not only wore at her nuptials in 1866, but also on the occasion of her golden-wedding anniversary, October 17, 1916. She has also given us the fringe of the wedding bouquet, as well as something of greater age, which was certainly precious to its former owner. I refer to the original silk bag belonging to Rachel Seixas Peixotto, the mother of Miriam Maduro Peixotto Davis. In addition, she has given us a daguerreotype of Mrs. Davis at the age of 18; a framed silhouette of Daniel L. M. Peixotto (1800-1843), father of Miriam Maduro Peixotto Davis; a pin of Rachel, the wife of Daniel L. M. Peixotto, and the mother of Mrs. Davis, and another pin made of grey hair set in a black and gold frame which also belonged to Rachel Seixas Peixotto and by her given to her daughter, Miriam Maduro Peixotto Davis, who in turn gave it to her daughter, Alice Davis Menken in 1893, who has now presented it to this Society.

In addition, there is a *Kiddush* cloth made in Italy, belonging to the Allen-Mitchell family, and presented by Rachel Mitchell to Alice Davis Menken in 1915. There is also a translation made and signed by Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia, of the marriage certificate of Goodman, son of David Davis, to Rebecca Marks in 1831. There are included in the gift of Mrs. Menken other articles of the greatest interest, and on behalf of the Society I tender her our sincerest thanks.

Other notable gifts have been received by the Society, of which mention will be made in the report of our curator, Mr. Leon Huhner.

Now that we are on the threshold of a year that promises to be the most auspicious in the history of the Society, I hope

that all who have things of the character above mentioned, will contribute them to our Society. There must be many things of beauty and worth scattered about in old homesteads and libraries collected by eminent Jews of a time long past. All these are of use to the historian, for no portrayal can be made of Colonial, Revolutionary or Civil War days, unless these are placed within the reach of the student.

When on this subject, we might say that this is the fiftieth anniversary of the first great Russian Jewish emigration to this country. There has been no greater event, in its far-reaching influence, than this. The little band of Russian Jews who arrived in Philadelphia in 1881 had no idea that they were the vanguard of a host unprecedented in history. The story of this great movement, although attempts have already been made to portray it,³ is as yet unwritten. It is in the province of our Society to secure, while yet we may, the documents upon which a definitive narrative can be based. If original documents cannot be secured, copies and transcripts should be made from custom house records, emigration lists, various official papers and public records. Letters should be secured of these pioneers which, in the fullness of time, will be as valuable to the historian and present just as true a picture of these times, as those just presented to the Society.

We are looking forward next year to another great anniversary in which the Jews are particularly concerned. On February 22, 1932 will be celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington. There are in the archives of the Society original papers of George Washington and other material relating to him and his relations with Jews of his period, and, therefore, it is fitting that a memorial volume be issued by the American Jewish Historical Society to perpetuate this event. This volume should be made

³ *Supra*, No. 19, p. 125 *et seq.*

ready in time for this great occasion, which will be celebrated throughout the world.

While on the subject of anniversaries, we must take note of the fact that next year we celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of our own Society. Much water has run under the bridge since the eventful meeting held at New York on June 7, 1892, at which the American Jewish Historical Society was organized.

It gives me, and all the officers, the greatest pleasure to welcome you to our own rooms in this beautiful building. It is the culmination of almost four decades of earnest work by the faithful members of this organization. A cause of congratulation is that of the forty persons who assembled on that day, five are officers of our beloved Society at this time: Dr. Cyrus Adler, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Max J. Kohler, Captain N. Taylor Phillips and George Alexander Kohut. Many others present on that auspicious occasion are still members of this Society. It is only fitting that next year we celebrate this fortieth anniversary with appropriate ceremony.

It also gives me great pleasure to announce the appointment of the first librarian of the Society, Mr. Edward D. Coleman. Not only has he a love for the things that are now in his charge, but he is a bibliographer of note, having published this year under the imprint of the New York Public Library, "The Bible in English Drama, an annotated list of plays." Mr. Coleman will be in charge of the Society's collections and he will be only too glad to be of assistance to all students and scholars.

The main endeavor of our Society is, after all, the preservation of all documents relating to the story of the Jews on this continent, and, what is more important, making them readily accessible. We are fortunate in now possessing a large exhibition room, with appropriate equipment, so that our treasures can be adequately displayed. The appeals recently made by our Society for things of an American Jewish char-

acter have been richly rewarded. In no time in the entire history of the Society have we received such splendid gifts.

All members and friends of the Society are invited to examine our collections, which will be on view immediately after the close of this meeting, in the new library and exhibition rooms. We are indeed fortunate in having such attractive quarters where we can guard with zealous care all the precious things that are now, or may in the future, be entrusted to our care.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.¹

BY A. S. W. ROSENBACH, PH. D., F. A. D.

"We are making history" has become a trite and tarnished phrase. History is being made at every tick of the clock and, perhaps, what we are doing now is of no more interest than what was done a million years ago. That "history repeats itself" is another familiar phrase that has been worn thread-bare. Most modern historians in tracing the various steps in the history of progress claim that the world has become less cruel and that this is the only considerable contribution made by mankind to mankind during the last five hundred years. A great Nordic nation, under the proud banner of its own *kultur*, is now practicing the arts of cruelty in a way that is as ingenious as it is ignoble. The refinement in this exercise of their cruelty is worthy of the best tradition of the Middle Ages. It is not of the thumb-screw and the rack, and there is no drawing and quartering. It is not one of bloodshed, except in rare incidents; but rather is it the exquisite torturing of a whole people by methods that would do honor to Torquemada himself. To batter down the self-respect and self-esteem of six hundred thousand persons, and to destroy their spiritual vitality must be, in the eyes of Hitler, a proud and magnificent achievement. I am referring to Germany's present treatment of the Jews as an incident in the history of our own times, which must be exactly set down by the archivist.

The exodus of the Jews from the Fatherland, now being enacted under our own eyes, will be as interesting to future generations as the exodus from Egypt of the Children of Israel in the time of Moses, or the expulsion of the Jews from

¹Delivered at the thirty-ninth annual meeting, New York, October 21, 1933.

Spain during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, or the pogroms which drove so many of our people from Russia during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. To explain the psychology of this Germanic movement, to set down in a dispassionate manner its genesis and its history, will require the collecting and preservation of an enormous amount of material. The time to gather such material is *now*. I know of only one institution in this country that is collecting data relative to Germany's treatment of the Jews. The American Jewish Historical Society should make it its particular business to build up a collection of material relating to what is, after all, one of the most remarkable manifestations in the history of the Jews. So much of this material is ephemeral, consisting of official documents, marked to be destroyed after reading, broadsides that have been inserted surreptitiously in volumes, unexpurgated letters of the great leaders, uncensored messages and telegrams, that they should be gathered at once. Every piece, however unimportant it may seem today, will have value. I do not think the time has arrived to write the history of this movement, but I do think the time has come when we must collect every scrap of information relating to it. I believe that time alone can bring a dispassionate treatment of this extraordinary event.

Historians of their own times are too much influenced by their milieu to treat their subject in an unprejudiced manner. Thus Edward Gibbon was better able to write the history of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* than any person who lived during those exciting times. If Gibbon had had the advantage of more contemporary sources he would have written even a better history than he did. Thus we should set ourselves the task of gathering all the material we can. It should be a part of the work of the American Jewish Historical Society to go deeply and fully into the subject of Germany and secure, while yet we may, everything that we think will be valuable to the future student. Contemporary narra-

tives always make interesting reading, particularly to people who have reached mature age and think they have had a part, though small, in the making of such history; but in reality, it is merely matter tinged with a strong personal bias. The persons we consider great today are often the pigmies of tomorrow, and those unheralded and unsung during their own generation are frequently the immortals of the future. History plays strange tricks with reputations. We are never judges of our contemporaries and we must not forget that he whose name was writ in water became in the turn of a century one of the shining names in literary history.

This leads to subjects for the historian which make that of Germany and its treatment of the Jews pale into insignificance, and which have been neglected by our own workers. There arose, in the lifetime of almost every one of us, four great discoveries that have, and will have, a marked influence on the history of mankind. All four have been developed since the American Jewish Historical Society was founded only four decades ago. I refer to the flying machine, the radio, the moving picture and television. They have become so interwoven in the very fiber of our existence that we are almost unconscious of the effect they have on us. How our ancestors did without them is a mystery!

The part played by Jews in the development of these four great agencies has been considerable, and it will be left to the discriminating historian of the future to say how much. They are entirely new cultural influences that were totally unknown to the historian of the past. Religion, war, medicine, sport, mathematics, and geography were known to Josephus and Plutarch, but the modern investigator has to deal with things quite beyond the ken of the most imaginative chronicler of other days.

The object of this Society, according to its constitution, is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of our country. What more important work can we do than to gather

every scrap of material bearing upon these subjects that it is possible to obtain? Expeditions are being organized at great cost to unearth antiquities in Persia, Egypt, and Palestine, yet not one of them has had such an influence upon people as the flying machine, the radio, and the moving picture. The basis of all these inventions, electricity itself, dates back less than two centuries. The world was greatly excited at the discoveries of the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen and the recent discoveries in Palestine. These are of interest to the antiquarian and the archæologist, but their finding has no effect on millions of people who have never even heard of these new finds. It is curious that little attempt has been made on our part to preserve the precious records of the present. I recognize better than many that it is great sport to find the golden necklace of one of the queens of King Tut-ankh-Amen, or a priceless vase from Persepolis or a fresco from the synagogue at Dura-Europos, but they are probably of no greater value to the historian than some of the things we are today throwing into the waste-paper basket. It is the things that are little thought of in one generation that become the precious things of another. Let us therefore proceed to collect the things of our own times, so that Jews in the future will be able to know what their ancestors did in relation to great discoveries and great causes.

While it is true that I have frequently mentioned that we should use eternal vigilance in gathering new material, one may ask what has been done toward the publication of the mass of historical data already in our archives. In answer I might state that the library of the Society has been used by an increasing number of scholars and students, and that in nearly every book or pamphlet relating to the Jews in America that has been issued in recent years, acknowledgment has been made to the resources of our Society. Eminent scholars have taken advantage of the thousands of books and MSS. in our collections. We have a capable librarian, himself a scholar and historian, who is always ready to render assistance to the

student. And yet it is disappointing to record that few of our records have been made available by publication, and that there yet remain in the archives of the Society many documents that should see the light of day.

Another matter of serious concern is that we have developed few, if any, notable scholars in our own field. I would like to appeal to the younger generation of our members to consider the subject of American Jewish history as a life-work, to be undertaken as a profession. It seems a pity that we have not, in the forty-one years of the Society's existence, developed one who desired to dedicate his life to it. The subject is worthy of it and it is to be hoped that the right man or woman will be forthcoming to take full and complete advantage of the spade work that has already been done. I am as proud as anyone of the Society's achievements and the thirty-two volumes of its *Publications* attest to the excellent work already accomplished.

It is also true that the members have to wait a year or more before the annual proceedings appear. This could be remedied by publishing a monthly or a quarterly magazine devoted entirely to American Jewish history. Thus would be aroused a new interest in the subject, and its study would be promoted. It is true that there is a dearth of magazines, and that almost every organization, except our own, has its official organ. I hope some day to be able to announce such a publication which should be of a scholarly and accurate nature. Too many of the articles on American Jewish subjects that have appeared in Jewish and in other periodicals, although sometimes interesting, are the efforts of half-baked journalists. I do not wish to infer that our own periodical should be a dead affair, with only the bare records of the past. Works of an historical nature, although profound and of the most exhaustive scholarship, can be as absorbing as fiction. The trouble today is that we mistake fiction for history. The story of the Jews in America is an absorbing, even a romantic subject, and I

trust that there will be forthcoming many students who will consider it a privilege to work in a field with such brilliant possibilities.

We are honored this evening in having with us Dr. Cyrus Adler, the beloved founder of our Society and its president for over a score of years, whose seventieth birthday occurred on September 13. The late Oscar S. Straus, the first president of this Society, made an address at the inaugural meeting held in this city, June 7, 1892. He said that he desired here to pay a just tribute to Dr. Cyrus Adler who was mainly instrumental in bringing about this organization. I know he is too modest ever to lay claim to the work he has done, therefore, all the more I take pleasure in thus publicly recognizing his meritorious services.

Thus spoke Mr. Straus over forty years ago, and the march of the years since that time has immeasurably increased our indebtedness to Dr. Adler. I shall leave it to another to record his activities in connection with the American Jewish Historical Society. I hold him in too great affection to talk in his presence of his high qualities and the nobility of his mind and character. He has shown a fighting quality in great causes which we all have admired; but there is at the same time a tenderness and beauty of spirit that have ennobled him. His life can be measured by the progress of the Jews on this continent. The Society extends to him its congratulations, and with it the love and devotion of every member.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF CYRUS ADLER TO AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY.

BY GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT, D.H.L. (*h. c.*)

Thomas Carlyle once said to James Anthony Froude, whose appraisal of him is no longer accepted as valid or adequate, that a man's bibliography is his best biography.

In that sense, a list of the writings of Cyrus Adler would perhaps serve as an index to his mind and indicate the catholicity of his tastes. But it is not merely what a man *writes*, for that is often just an intellectual exercise, but what he *does*, and how he *reacts* to moral and spiritual stimuli that determine his rightful place in the company of men.

Whatever opinion we may hold regarding Cyrus Adler's leadership—and at this serious moment in the affairs of World-Jewry we are disposed to be critical of the quality of the service rendered by some of our foremost leaders—no one with a sense of justice can deny him an important niche in American Jewish history. He may have possibly erred in his pragmatic policy of reserve and diplomatic restraint, just as others have perhaps too loudly vociferated their violent partisanship on burning Jewish questions; but all will agree that Cyrus Adler is, in the last analysis, a man of energy and vision, accustomed to think clearly and to write lucidly and that, once arrived at a decision, he cannot easily be moved to compromise.

It is at once tragic and deplorable that, at a time calling for unity of purpose and action, there should exist a division in the ranks of American Jewry, to which our stricken brethren across the sea are looking for succor and salvation. It is not so much a conflict of dissenting opinions as a clash of temperaments. Our great leaders, at variance with one another on Jewish fundamentals, on Zionism, and on the now paramount

problem of the future of our own people under Nazi rule, bring upon us confusion and dismay.

Whatever will emerge from the American scene from this complex and delicate situation, it cannot be gainsaid that Cyrus Adler, as the spokesman and representative of a large and influential section of our people, has *not* forfeited the right to be heard, if he wills to speak, and that his record of personal service in every vital cause affecting the welfare of Israel for over half a century entitles him to be heard with patience and respect.

But Dr. Adler is primarily a man of fine tact, and understands the art of irenic persuasion. He served his apprenticeship under and along with men of the calibre of Sabato Morais, Mayer Sulzberger, Jacob H. Schiff, Oscar S. Straus, and a host of others whose devotion to Judaism and active participation in Jewish affairs are now a matter of history. He learned from them the lesson of steadfastness to a principle and the will to make sacrifices. He is a good fighter, and he gives and takes no quarter.

But we are not concerned with strife and controversy, at this moment when we are assembled to do him honor, incident to the fiftieth anniversary of his entry into public life. He rounds out a quarter of a century of administrative and academic work as the first and only president of Dropsie College; nearly fifty years of affiliation, as a founder with Morais and Alexander Kohut, of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and as its executive head since the passing of Solomon Schechter. And at the threshold of the seventy-first year of his life, he is still serene, and confident of the destiny of Israel.

In an admirable appraisal of him published in *The New York Times*, September 10, 1933, Lawrence Davies, of Philadelphia, cites an interesting episode connected with Dr. Adler's daughter, then a first grade pupil, who, upon being asked her father's occupation, promptly replied "president." That is

perhaps as good a characterization of him as any, for Dr. Adler, as we have seen, is not only the president of the aforementioned two great schools of learning, but he is, or has some time been, by virtue of his devoted services to many organizations, the president of several important institutions, notably the Mikve Israel Congregation and the Free Library, both of Philadelphia, the American Jewish Committee, the American Oriental Society, and the American Jewish Historical Society, which he founded and fostered with loving care, over a period of forty-one years.

It would be an act of supererogation to enumerate the various chairmanships and directorates of which Dr. Adler is or has been an associate member. We must necessarily restrict our reference to the Jewish Publication Society of America of which he was a founder, and to the Jewish classics, endowed by the munificence of Jacob H. Schiff. Mr. Schiff had subsidized the new English version of the Hebrew Scriptures, published in 1916, on the publication committee of which, characterized as the second greatest contribution to Jewish learning in America—the first being “The Jewish Encyclopedia”—he has served not only as actual chairman, but as a vitally interested counselor.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine, the Joint Distribution Committee, the Philadelphia Board of Education, the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia, and numerous other local and national bodies, have had the benefit of his coöperation, either as chairman, co-chairman, or member of their executive committees. He was one of the moving spirits in the final organization of “The Jewish Encyclopedia,” which will always be remembered as the creative work of Dr. Isidore Singer, and he became one of its board of editors, in charge of the departments of post-biblical antiquities and the Jews of America. He served on the executive committee of the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the Jews in the United States, and drafted the first circular of

appeal, dated New York, June 1, 1905, signed by sixteen distinguished Jews, although his name merely figures as one of the signatories thereto. Nor does he appear as an official participant in the exercises, having been detained in Washington by the illness of Samuel Pierpont Langley, which I, as one of the ushers, recall as being highly impressive and effective. The addresses delivered at Carnegie Hall, New York, on Thanksgiving day, 1905, together with other selected addresses and proceedings have been compiled into a handsome volume of two hundred and seventy-five pages, in the making of which Dr. Adler is said to have had a significant part.

It was upon this occasion that an offprint of his noteworthy article on the Jews of America in vol. i of "The Jewish Encyclopedia" was widely distributed. I am told by Edward D. Coleman, librarian of the American Jewish Historical Society, that this survey of Dr. Adler's, with certain reservations, is still considered authoritative and exhaustive. It has been much in demand and translated into several languages. No doubt, a reference to these foreign versions is noted in the bibliography of the works of Cyrus Adler, to which I had no access at the time of the preparation of this paper.

Being especially devoted to Jewish and Oriental learning since his early manhood (I recall that one of his first articles published in *Hebraica* was a description of an old Bible manuscript, now in the possession of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America), it is not surprising that, after graduating from the University of Pennsylvania, at the age of twenty, and taking his Ph. D. four years later, we should find him a fellow in Semitics at the Johns Hopkins University in 1886, an instructor in the year following, and an associate in 1892. As a pupil and life-long friend of the erudite and ingenious Assyriologist and Semitist, Professor Paul Haupt of "Rainbow-Bible" fame, he became associated with some choice academic spirits, among others the gifted Egyptologist, Aaron Ember, conjointly with whom he edited the Haupt tribute

volumes (Leipzig, 1926). Ember, it will be remembered, lost his life while trying to rescue his wife and children from the flames. He succeeded in saving but a meagre fragment of his great work on Egypto-Semitic philology, which I had the happiness of publishing after his death, under the auspices of the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation. To the Haupt tribute volume Dr. Adler contributed a paper, "The Beginning of Semitic Studies in America," a subject to which the late George Foot Moore, Rabbi William Rosenau and the present writer have devoted considerable attention.

As associate curator in the department of Oriental antiquities in the United States National Museum in 1887, and curator of historic archaeology and historic religions, he gained an accurate knowledge of Semitic custom and folklore, and developed a gift for presenting the results of his researches in the public press.

Accordingly, in 1901 and 1908, he issued, in collaboration with Dr. I. M. Casanowicz, two descriptive catalogues of Jewish ceremonial objects in the United States National Museum in Washington. The greater part of this invaluable collection was a loan-exhibit by Hadji Ephraim Benguiat, and it is now, through the munificence of Dr. Adler's friends, including Felix M. Warburg and Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, the property of the museum of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, one of the richest and most diversified treasure-houses of Hebraic source-material of ceremonial art in the world.

Dr. Adler was appointed special commissioner of the Chicago exposition to Oriental countries, 1890 to 1892. The Oriental exhibits on display were obtained mainly through his efforts, the result of an extensive search in Egypt, Turkey, and the Barbary States. He was sent to the Near East by President Harrison for one and a half years on a combined diplomatic and scientific mission for that purpose. A by-product of his eastern journey and experience is a series of charming folk-

tales, entitled "Told in a Coffee House," written in collaboration with Allan R. Ramsay and published in New York, 1898. Upon his return from his travels in the Orient in 1892, he was appointed librarian of the Smithsonian Institution, a position of distinction which he held until 1905, when he became assistant secretary for three years (1905-1908).

Dr. Adler represented the United States at the conference of an international catalogue of scientific literature held in London, 1898, remaining a member of its international council. He helped to found the Oriental Club in Philadelphia, which numbered among its membership such distinguished men as Paul Haupt, Morris Jastrow, Jr., W. Max Müller, James A. Montgomery, and others, and for many years has been one of the trustees of the American School of Oriental Research (founded in 1900), in whose work he is still profoundly interested. He is also an active associate member of the American Philosophical Society, the Washington Academy of Science, and of several social and academic clubs.

It is not generally known precisely what was his original official connection with Gratz College in Philadelphia, founded by a deed of trust by Hyman Gratz in 1856, but not operative until 1893, but his close contact with its trustees and executives and with at least two great English scholars, Solomon Schechter and Joseph Jacobs, who in 1895 and 1896 visited America and delivered important lectures under its auspices, makes his affiliation with the college significant. In his own sketch of it in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. i, p. 83, he does not advert to his own relations thereto.

According to the statement of one of his most recent biographers, Dr. Adler, for more than thirty years, edited "The American Jewish Year Book." Mr. Coleman, however, charges him with responsibility for only seven of these volumes, some of them being in collaboration with Henrietta Szold. Be this as it may, it is due to his energy and initiative that these indispensable annual records of current Jewish affairs have seen

the light of day. In its pages he himself has presented, from time to time, illuminating pen-portraits of his celebrated kinsman, Mayer Sulzberger, and of his intimate personal friends, Jacob H. Schiff, Solomon Schechter, Louis Marshall, and Oscar S. Straus, the five great luminaries on the firmament of American Jewry of the past generation.¹

It is interesting to note in conjunction with the definitive biography of Isaac Leeser, now in course of preparation by Miss Emily Solis Cohen, that, as a youth of twenty, Adler published a "Catalogue of the Leeser Library" (Philadelphia, 1883), significant for its American Judaica, and, four years later, a "Catalogue of a Hebrew Library, being the collection with a few additions of the late Joshua I. Cohen of Baltimore" (Baltimore, 1887).

It is my privilege to report that from among the considerable number of autograph-letters and other literary personalia belonging to the well-known Cohen family of Baltimore and containing for the most part the correspondence of Dr. Joshua I. Cohen, I succeeded in salvaging over one hundred and fifty documents from under the auctioneer's hammer, less than half a dozen years ago.²

I wish that I had the time to read Dr. Adler's communication to me on the subject of the so-called Mendes Cohen family, dated November 10, 1931, wherein he gave some information

¹ As this paper goes to press his tribute to the noted biblical scholar, Max Leopold Margolis, appeared in vol. 35. Margolis' passing was an irreparable loss to Jewish learning in America; his life-work, a critical edition of the Greek Text of the Book of Joshua, the product of twenty years labor, is being published by the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation.

² The major part of the Cohen collection of autographs, of considerable value, comprising 842 items in all, were sold at public auction in 1907. See "Catalogue No. 969 . . . Autograph Letters and Historical Documents gathered by the late Joshua I. Cohen, M.D. . . . to be sold . . . Nov. 12 and 13, 1907 . . ." Philadelphia, 1907. IV + 112 pp. 8°, [with many facsimiles].

on the subject, in his usual terse and conclusive manner. I also wish that I could, for the delectation and amusement of my readers, present extracts from the letters to Mendes Cohen, Dr. Joshua I. Cohen and others in that select coterie. There are, for example, well-preserved holograph letters addressed to various members of the Cohen family by Richard Rush, secretary of the legation in London in 1838; by Catherwood in 1836, offering to exhibit the panorama of Jerusalem and Niagara; by Isaac Leeser, Mordecai Manuel Noah, and Joseph Wolff, the noted missionary; by Gustavus A. Myers of Richmond, Virginia, who furnishes a remarkably sympathetic reminiscence of his visit to the home of Chief Justice Marshall in December, 1836; and last, but not least, among a host of aristocrats and eccentrics, some notes of David Hoffman of Baltimore, jurist, historian and litterateur, who wrote a curious book in two volumes, purporting to be the "Chronicles of Carthaphilus the Wandering Jew" (London, 1853-54). His character and caligraphy are psychoanalyzed in one of the essays of Edgar Allan Poe. They are a rich and splendid company, these correspondents of the Cohens, and deserve to be separately brought to the attention of students of American Jewish history on some later occasion.

Upon the death of Dr. Samuel Pierpont Langley, the distinguished scientist and pioneer of aviation, whose close friend and literary executor he was, Dr. Adler did much to vindicate for him credit for his early research work in aeronautics.

The great variety of his interests, however, gradually necessitated the concentration of all his energies upon the two important institutions of learning he had helped to found and maintain. And thus it came about that in 1902, following the call to America of England's foremost Jewish scholar, Solomon Schechter, with whom Dr. Adler kept up an unbroken friendship until his death, he devoted more and more of his time to matters appertaining to Jewish learning, editing conjointly with Schechter *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, the most notable

of all periodicals, dedicated to what is termed the science of Judaism. After Schechter's death, he became its sole editor up to the present day. He not only preserved the fine traditions this journal had established under the former editorial management of Israel Abrahams and Claude G. Montefiore, but materially extended its usefulness. I have been told that he meticulously reads each article in MS. and actually every line of the proof, which is no mean achievement for a busy man of affairs, whose correspondence alone must be a considerable strain upon his physical resources.

And yet he appears to have found time for many other things, for lectures on biblical archaeology, for varied and exacting administrative work, for writing numerous articles on biography and local history, and on the fateful career of the Jews of the Spanish Inquisition in Mexico. Not many years ago, he established the first monotype Hebrew press for the purpose of enabling the Jewish Publication Society of America to print twenty-five volumes in the Jewish classics series. In a letter to me relative to this project, under date of November 14, 1928, Dr. Adler wrote:

Quite a number of years ago, because I thought it necessary for the independence of Jewish scholarship and for the sake of the community here, I commenced to propose the idea of the establishment of a Hebrew press. It was quite indifferent to me where the press was. I should have been willing, at the time, to have it conducted by the Dropsie College, but the gentlemen whom I interested suggested the Jewish Publication Society, a more neutral organization, and hence the Hebrew press was established there. We used the fund to build two monotype machines, which in my opinion set a very beautiful Hebrew, but set it so that the points are cast with the letters and hence prevent the danger of breaking off. I had previously printed *The Jewish Quarterly Review* for a number of years at the Oxford University Press, but brought it over to America because it seemed to me that Jewish scholarship would be provincial in America until we had our own press.

Many important works dealing with technical learning, requiring the utmost typographical skill, have been issued by

this Hebrew press, chief among them being the monumental "Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry," in four quarto volumes, the life-long labor of Prof. Israel Davidson. The press also printed Prof. Jacob Mann's "Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature" (Cincinnati, 1931), Prof. Louis Ginzberg's "Genizah Studies," in the Schechter memorial series, some of the volumes of the "Hebrew Union College Annual," and numerous other books, especially doctoral dissertations, as well as the researches of both faculty and students of Dropsie College and The Jewish Theological Seminary of America.³

When the Kishineff outrages in Bessarabia occurred during the Easter holiday (April 19-21, 1903) and the whole civilized world was aroused, as perhaps never before, American Jews and Christians alike uttered their sense of horror of and execration at the atrocities committed against a defenseless Jewish community. The celebrated Kishineff petition, signed by twelve thousand prominent citizens of the United States, was forwarded to the Russian Government, July 15, 1903. The original, formulated and written by the hand of President Theodore Roosevelt, and forwarded under the signature of John Hay, Secretary of State, is now in the archives of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith. It is a noble and impassioned appeal on behalf of a persecuted race which, together with similar interventions with other despotic governments in an identical emergency, gives us the requisite historic precedent to appeal to the Federal administration for intercession in the present calamitous situation which confronts our Jewish brethren in Germany.

The unified protest of the American press and pulpit, together with many addresses and resolutions bearing upon the Bessarabian catastrophe, have been carefully compiled into an

³ See the Report in "The American Jewish Year Book 5694," vol. 35, 1933, pp. 323-4.

imposing volume of over five hundred pages, by Adler, "The Voice of America on Kishineff," Philadelphia, 1904.⁴

I may be permitted to add that, as editor of *The New Era Illustrated Magazine*, I devoted the August, 1905, issue to the memory of John Hay. It contains the opinions of eminent Jews on the life and services of America's distinguished statesman, including the tributes of Isaac N. Seligman, A. S. Solomons, Oscar S. Straus, Mayer Sulzberger and Simon Wolf, as well as a sonnet by George Alexander Kohut. I reproduced the facsimile of the historic document, framed by President Theodore Roosevelt, showing his and John Hay's holograph texts. There is also a Hebrew letter from John Hay, addressed to Rabbi Marcus H. Dubov of Evansville, Indiana, rendered into the sacred tongue by Mr. Thomas, the official translator of the Department of State, which has been reprinted both in Hebrew and in an English translation by Prof. Alexander Marx, in Philip Cowen's "Memories of an American Jew," New York, 1932. The same number of *The New Era* quotes in full John Hay's soulful poem "Israel," which was included in my "Hebrew Anthology," Cincinnati, 1913. The dedication of a John Hay memorial window at Temple Keneseth Israel in Philadelphia, December 2, 1906, with addresses by Elihu Root, then Secretary of State, Oscar S. Straus, ex-ambassador to Turkey, Andrew D. White, and the Rev. Dr. Joseph Krauskopf, was adequately reported in *The New York Times* on the following day.

In *The New Era* for May, 1905 (pp. 481-91), in an illustrated article entitled "Jefferson and the Jews," I reviewed Dr. Adler's remarkable find of the so-called Jefferson Bible, preserved in MS. in the United States National Museum at Washington and secured for it through his instrumentality from Miss Randolph of Shadwell, Virginia, in 1895. Dr.

⁴ See also Oscar S. Straus, "Under Four Administrations," pp. 171-173; Max J. Kohler, "The United States and German Persecutions" . . . New York, 1933, pp. 23-29, 39.

Adler, in a separate paper on the subject, published in *The Cosmopolitan* for January, 1905, pp. 340-4, recalled that it was in 1886, when a fellow of Johns Hopkins University, he was engaged in cataloguing the Hebrew library of Dr. Joshua I. Cohen of Baltimore, of whom I have already spoken, he came upon two copies of the New Testament in English, mutilated, with a statement which indicated that they belonged to Jefferson. They were printed in 1804. It was this clue which led to the discovery of the original, in possession of a member of Jefferson's family. Dr. Adler told in detail the acquisition of this precious compendium of the Gospels from the correspondence of Jefferson with various noted men, and concluded his account with the following words:

It remains but to say that, in spite of the reason given by Jefferson for the preparation of this collection, its usefulness for the Indians, there is discernible an empirical sort of New Testament criticism, and it would seem that this remarkable man, who was patriot, diplomatist, scholar and scientific man all in one, anticipated the theories of modern New Testament scholars as to the existence of an earlier or synoptic gospel, and that he actually prepared one for himself—the rude forerunner of later critical attempts. That he must have done this in a spirit of devotion, is evidenced by his letters, and by statements gathered from his family, as well as by the information derived from a letter addressed to a friend, in which he says that he was “in the habit of reading nightly from them [the two compilations] before going to bed.”

The volume is beautifully printed in Latin, Greek, French and English, in parallel columns, and bound in full red morocco. It bears the title “The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth, extracted textually from the Gospels in Greek, Latin, French and English, by Thomas Jefferson. With an Introduction by Dr. Cyrus Adler, Washington, 1904, Government Printing Office.” It was distributed by members of the House of Representatives to a privileged few. To my deep regret, I have never been able to obtain a copy for my own collection.

As an ardent American patriot and loyal Jew of the conservative wing, accustomed from his early boyhood to conform to the tenets of his fathers, Dr. Adler was naturally deeply concerned, when the World War broke out, in the personal welfare of his brethren in military service. It was he who coördinated the social, religious and educational work of the soldiers and sailors called to the colors, by promptly organizing the local and national groups interested in the fate of the Jewish men in training camps. The Jewish Welfare Board, which functioned so effectively in the war, had his devoted attention and care. He served as chairman of the committee on chaplains and religious activities and afterwards as acting chairman of the board until June 5, 1921. Later, at the Peace Conference at Versailles, he was one of a group of American Jewish leaders, who in conjunction with the efforts of delegates from other countries, was instrumental in writing into the treaty clauses guaranteeing Jewish minority rights.

Although not a professing Zionist, he has always been sympathetic toward the great adventure which has for its object the reclamation and rehabilitation of the Jewish Homeland. As a member of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, his heart was enlisted in every cause tending to promote the development of its cultural and spiritual life. He has, since the establishment of the Hebrew University, cooperated with Chancellor Judah L. Magnes and other great friends of that unique academy by giving aid and counsel, often at considerable personal inconvenience and sacrifice, when he was physically unequal to the tasks which were imposed upon him. On behalf of the Jewish Agency, he prepared for the League of Nations' special commission a "Memorandum on the Western Wall," Philadelphia, 1930, which is an excellent specimen of painstaking research.

He helped to build up two great libraries which are the pride of the institutions he administers and he was, in all likelihood, indirectly responsible for the acquisition by Jacob H. Schiff

for the Library of Congress of the important Deinard collection of Hebrew books which, together with that at Harvard University, the gift of Colonel Lucius N. Littauer, constitutes a fitting memorial to that renowned traveller, bibliographer, and artist of Hebrew prose style, Ephraim Deinard, some of whose treasures already were incorporated into the library of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Perhaps his greatest achievement of an academic character, quite apart from his own private studies and publications, and ranking only next to the establishment and administration of The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, in Philadelphia, which has done so much for Jewish scholarship in America, is his modest and perhaps not openly acknowledged share in the transfer to the seminary, by gift and by purchase, of two collections of Hebrew books of such surpassing value that any appraisal would be inadequate. The several thousand volumes of Hebraica and Judaica, constituting the bulk of the library of his cousin, Mayer Sulzberger, comprised a considerable number of incunables and other raria, and an equally valuable lot of MSS. These, as well as the world-famed Elkan N. Adler collection of Hebrew books and MSS., many of them unique and unrecorded, were acquired, at least in part, through Dr. Adler's resourcefulness and initiative, with the generous help of some of his distinguished friends. He made it possible for Prof. Alexander Marx to realize his dream of creating a Jewish library unequalled elsewhere. What these two magnificent collections offer to scholars for purposes of research, and how nobly Marx has fulfilled his mission, need not here be dwelt upon. Only yesterday there appeared in *The New York Times Review of Books*, October 15, 1933, an appreciative and fascinatingly written account of some of the MS. treasures recently secured for the seminary by the magnanimous gift of an anonymous donor, a full report of which is published by Dr. Marx in the fourth volume of the *Proceedings*

of the *American Academy for Jewish Research*. This volume is appropriately dedicated to Dr. Adler.

The reference to the greatest Jewish library in the world, now aggregating over one hundred thousand printed volumes and seven thousand MSS., recalls one of its greatest benefactors, the late Mortimer L. Schiff, who gave of his wealth with a lavish hand in support of Prof. Marx's plan for the expansion of that superb storehouse of learning. Here again it was through the medium of Dr. Adler's close friendship with Mortimer Schiff that the library was enabled to grow apace. It was his intention to leave by testamentary disposition a munificent sum for the purchase of books, a resolve which was frustrated by his death in the prime of his years. His mother, Mrs. Jacob H. Schiff, however, bequeathed a handsome, if comparatively modest, gift for purposes of library administration, so that now the Schiff and Warburg names are indissolubly linked with the priceless collection of Hebraica and Judaica in the new Jacob H. Schiff memorial library building, which is one of the ornaments of our community.

On October 18, 1933 Dr. Adler received at the hands of the venerable Daniel Carter Beard, national scout commissioner, the insignia of the silver buffalo at the dedicatory exercises of the spacious and beautiful Mortimer L. Schiff scout reservation. It is a memorial gift by his mother.

A perpetual reminder of his rich personality, his deep devotion, and his untiring services to the Youth of America and the World.

Schiff had been vice-president and charter member of the national executive board in 1910, becoming president of the Boy Scouts of America in 1931, with his friend, Adler, as one of the active members of the board.

This is perhaps the proper place to refer to Adler's two stately volumes, issued in New York, 1928, "*Jacob H. Schiff: his Life and Letters*." It was a notable achievement in the field of biography, for which Dr. Adler is by training and temperament better fitted than many of his contemporaries.

He lets his illustrious subject tell his own story, with judicious introductions and comments, and succeeded in presenting to us not perhaps the man of flesh as we knew him, warm-hearted, commanding and dominant, especially where his Jewish interests were involved, but as the financier and captain of industry, the man of large affairs, whose puissant though diffident personality made him not only a national but a world figure.⁵

Dr. Adler's deep interest in Oriental research, set forth with such clarity in his presidential address, "East and West," at a recent meeting of the American Oriental Society, and printed in its *Journal*, vol. 44, pp. 177-185, recalls one of his first published papers, in 1892, devoted to "Columbus in Oriental Literature."⁶ It is to be found in H. B. Adams' "Columbus and his discovery of America." I believe that it is in this book that the author makes the epigrammatic statement that it was not the *jewels* but the *Jews* of Queen Isabella of Spain that made it possible for the great navigator to undertake the voyages which, it is now generally admitted by all impartial historians, were financed by Luis de Santangel, scrivener and treasurer of the revenues of the crown, and his fellow-Jews who, for the third time in their history, on August 9, 1492, were ruthlessly and ignominiously singled out for conversion or destruction. That Columbus should have sung

⁵ For an exhaustive and sympathetic review of these volumes, see Isaac Landman, "Portrait of an American Jew," *The American Hebrew*, January 11, 1929, pp. 362, 363, 368 (illustrated). Similarly, *The New York Times* reviewed them, John Huston Finley being the writer of the notice, December 9, 1928.

⁶ Paul Kahle in an article "A Lost Map of Columbus" in the *Geographical Review*, 1933, described a Turkish chart drawn in 1513 by Piri ben Hadji Muhammed, purported to have come into the possession of a Spanish slave who made three voyages to America with Columbus. Piri's uncle Kemal Réis of Gallipoli eventually became the slave's master and it is in a seraglio at Istanbul that this valuable map was recently discovered. *The New York Times*, November 2, 1933.

his first hallelujahs on American soil on Hoshana Rabba, the Jewish feast of tabernacles, is a symbolic and significant incident worth recording.

Curiously enough, twelve years after the publication of his paper on Columbus, Dr. Adler's attention was called to a singular correspondence relating to the probability of the Jewish ancestry of Columbus, concerning which so many books, pamphlets and newspaper articles have been published in recent years. Perhaps, in view of the correspondence which here follows, a brief digression touching this perennially alluring, if elusive, problem, may be permitted.

On April 7, 1904, one Francisco G. de Cosio, who describes himself as deputy attorney-at-law in Mexico, wrote to Oscar S. Straus:

Being very fond of Oriental languages my good friend Mr. Max Loeb suggested me the idea to send you two old pieces of spanish poetry, regarding to the discovery of America for the purpose to demonstrate some of the Columbus crew were Jews, and therefore I take the pleasure in inclosing you herewith these two very interesting pieces of spanish poetry, desiring you shall be very pleased with them. I have many things to communicate relating the Jew ancestry of Columbus and with great pleasure I shall write you about this matter.

I did not then, in discussing the "find" with Mr. Straus, consider it worthy of credence. Dr. Adler, to whom the poems had been submitted, referred them to me May 10, 1904, with the following comment:

I did not think myself that the poem which Mr. Straus sent to me was a very serious matter; I handed it to you to make such use of as you deem best.

I am now inclined to the belief that these forty-four versified lines, initialed with the Hebrew letters of the alphabet, in the manner of the medieval hymnologists, are not altogether spurious material. They are properly known as *Volkspoesie* and were, it appears, current in Mexico for hundreds of years.

They mention the caravels of Columbus, cite by name the reputed first discoverer of land, Rodrigo de Triana, and single out one of the crew of Columbus' ship, *La Pinta*, a certain Hanniel, who cried out *Uaana Hen*, alleged to be two Hebrew words meaning "here are they," which are said to phonetically identify the place that the eyes of Columbus beheld from the prow of *La Pinta*.

Lines thirteen to fifteen of the second poem read :

Haleluiah haanusim
e alhamdo lillah muslim

concluding with the couplet :

Quexoso del almirante
este espanol iudaizante.

That such a tradition should have be perpetuated in quasi-macaronic verse and circulated among the Marranos in Mexico, will be no cause for surprise to those of us who like Dr. Adler, David Fergusson, Elkan N. Adler and myself, have studied the annals of the Inquisition in the Spanish American colonies, notably in Mexico. There are far stranger things recorded of the *Anusim* or crypto-Jews in Mexico, Chile, Peru, Cartagena, and in the Philippine Islands, as Dr. Adler himself can testify, since he published two full-length trials of Mexican Jewish martyrs in the middle of the seventeenth century, to which we shall advert later.⁷

⁷ For reliable résumés in English on the Marrano communities in the Spanish colonial possessions in the New World, dealing more especially with their inner life and romantic struggle for survival, it would be well to consult, in addition to the more or less technical notarial material published in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, the following, "The Spanish Inquisition in Early America," describing the Elkan N. Adler collection of documents, *American Hebrew*, August 24, 1923, p. 306; Anita Brenner, "Cavaliers and Martyrs," a fascinating, popular account of the Crypto-Jews in Mexico, in *The Menorah Journal*, January, 1929, vol. xvi, pp. 8-23, and more especially the chapter "The Marranos in the New World" in Cecil Roth's "A History of the Marranos," Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 271-95.

At the organization meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society, June 7, 1892, upon the motion of K. Kohler, and seconded by Alexander Kohut, the eminent historian, Dr. Meyer Kayserling, chief rabbi of Budapest, was elected the first honorary member of the Society. To him students of American Jewish history owe a great debt for his researches in the Spanish Portuguese archives, which he was commissioned to undertake by Oscar S. Straus and his father, and it is to these investigations, then pending, that Straus referred in his remarks at the initial gathering summoned by Dr. Adler. Shortly thereafter, in 1894, appeared Kayserling's epoch-making book, "Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish-Portuguese Discoveries." It was based entirely upon archival sources, and demonstrated beyond peradventure the prominent share which the Jews had in the great quest of Columbus. The work appeared simultaneously in German and English, the latter prepared by Prof. Charles Gross of Harvard University. It has gone through several title-editions and remains to this day the classical source-book of reference on the subject.

Chapter vi of Kayserling's work mentioned four men of Jewish lineage as members of Columbus' crew and confirmed the statement in the Mexican ballad that it was Rodrigo de Triana, according to non-Jewish chroniclers, who first spied land.

The land [wrote Kayserling] was Watling's Island, or perhaps Acklin Island; the natives called it Guanahani,

so named by Jews aboard *La Pinta*. He cited F. Rivas Puigcerver's *Los Judios y el Nuevo Mundo*, Mexico, 1891, and other sources, which discredit the Mexican rhymes and the fanciful derivation of Guanahani, known to be of Indian origin. On the other hand, the gifted literary and artistic critic of Mexico, Anita Brenner, who a few years ago acquired some of the books and papers of Puigcerver, a professor of Oriental languages

in Tacubaya, who claimed to be a descendant of Isaac Abrahavanel, stoutly maintained that the ballad was authentic and had been handed down for generations from father to son.

If the Mexican verses are inauthentic, and I am not prepared to so characterize them, the publication of a curious text in code in the *Menorah Monthly*, in 1894 (vol. xvi, pp. 1-2, with facsimile) may assuredly be described as a hoax. The document, if such it can be called, is alleged to have been composed in cipher by one of the companions of Columbus, a member of his ship's company, and it was deservedly consigned to oblivion, for none of the numerous writers on the subject of Columbus and the Jews, including Kayserling and K. Kohler, who have printed several papers bearing upon the Portuguese-Jewish discoveries, have adverted to it.

Spanish historians of the sixteenth century anticipated Alexander von Humboldt, in his "Cosmos," who mentioned by name Louis de Torres, the admiral's interpreter, stressing his knowledge of Oriental and Indian tongues. He was followed by Robert Southey, a poet-laureate of England, who, in his "Chronological History of the West Indies," was the first British writer to record the debt Columbus owed to the Jews. Ludwig Phillipson in his *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, for 1838, and Franz Delitzsch, a few years later, retold the story with varying detail. Marcus Jastrow, in one of the early volumes of *Young Israel*, edited by Louis Schnabel, as well as K. Kohler, utilized the sparse material at their command on the subject, long before the advent of Kayserling.

Oscar S. Straus, too, translating some of Emilio Castelar's remarkable articles touching upon Columbus and the Jews, in *The American Hebrew*, seemed struck by the significance of this absorbing theme. Some notes of Max J. Kohler's in *The Jewish Comment* for 1901 and in our own *Publications*, as well as the extensive researches of a number of scholars and archivists in Spain, partly summarized in Maurice David's half-fantastic, half-plausible book "Who was Columbus?"

New York, 1933, demonstrate the dramatic possibilities of Columbus' origin and the truth of his close relations with some of the Jews of his time. Walter McEntire, in his "Was Christopher Columbus a Jew," showed himself to be an ardent propagandist for the Catholic cause and cannot be followed as an impartial guide, whereas Hyland C. Kirk of Washington, who wrote a similar treatise nearly three decades ago and reprinted it, with my uncredited annotations, examined in a saner and more scholarly fashion the historic and literary evidence which pointed to Columbus' contacts with Jewish thought and tradition.

There has sprung up a literature on this theme which has been exploited time and again, both as fact and fiction, by the American Jewish press. It is therefore not to be wondered at that Oscar S. Straus should have been moved to write a book dealing with this fascinating problem. During the last years of his life, he repeatedly discussed the matter with me and asked me to collaborate with him in the preparation of a volume, based exclusively upon the archival material he had acquired from his friend, Senator Emilio Castelar, which tended to prove the contention of Columbus' Spanish origin.

The ingenious, if undemonstrable proofs, furnished by Spanish publicists, novelists and statesmen, including Prof. Luis Ulloa, director of the national library in Peru, the historian Garcia de la Riega, Prudencio Oetro Sanchez, archaeologist of Pontevedra, Dr. De Horta of Cuba, Blasco Ibañez, who has written much on the subject of Columbus' Jewish lineage and Prof. Moses Bensabat Amzalak,⁸ Jewish bibliophile and bibliographer of Lisbon, all combine to present a body of evidence which should be carefully sifted by our own

⁸ It was he, who as early as 1927, anticipated David in the solution of the cryptic signature of Columbus, maintaining that the Latin initials stood for Hebrew words, sacred in the liturgy. See Celso Salva, "Seeking to solve the Columbus riddle," *The American Hebrew*, October 10, 1930, p. 640.

historians in the impartial manner of a Kayserling or a Straus.⁹ Whether Straus had actually done more than assemble and clarify his materials for the Columbus book, I have been unable to ascertain. Most of his literary property of associational value went by testamentary disposition to the Hebrew University in Palestine, and it is not unlikely that his own data on Castelar's researches are to be found among his papers. Certainly they should, in view of his profound interest in the Jewish ancestry of Columbus, be rescued from oblivion. It is interesting to read in passing that, Mario Ravenna, a Jewish merchant in the town of Chiavari, near Genoa, who died May

⁹ Of the numerous popular articles in the American press relative to Columbus and his Jewish origin and affiliations may be mentioned: M. Kayserling, "The First Jew on American Soil" (in German and English), *Menorah Monthly*, 1892, xiii, pp. 253-260; Henri Vignaud, "Columbus a Spaniard and a Jew," *American Historical Review*, 1913, vol. xviii, p. 505, *cp. idem.*, "How America was really discovered," *The Living Age*, Boston, 1922, vol. 134, p. 156; Isidore Singer, "Was Columbus a Jew?" *The Sun*, New York, May 5, 1913 (editorial page); Jerome F. Cohen, "Did a Jew outfit Columbus?" *New York Evening Sun*, Oct. 23, 1919; Abraham A. Neuman, "Was Columbus a Jew? Analysis of the Spanish Theory," *American Hebrew*, May 19, 1922, pp. 14, 34, 39, 43; Franklin Gordon, "The Calendar that Saved Columbus," *ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1923, pp. 490, 508; "Blasco Ibañez Convinced Columbus was a Jew," *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, New York, Aug. 5, 1925, p. 4; Vicente Blasco Ibañez, "Unknown Lands," New York, 1929; review of the Jewish material therein: *The New York Times Book Review*, March 17, 1929, p. 7; Paul Ernest Anderson, "Columbus Addresses Santangel," *The American Hebrew*, Oct. 8, 1926, pp. 715, 718 (illustr.); Clarence I. Freed, "The First Jew in America," *The Reflex*, New York, April 1928, pp. 32-35; Morris Goldberg, "New Evidence Purporting that Columbus was a Jew," in *The Jewish Tribune*, Febr. 1, 1929, pp. 8, 22, 23-24; Celso Salva, *supra*; Albert Abarbanel, "Columbus and Spain's Crown" [Jews, not jewels], *New York Times*, Nov. 20, 1932; Review of Maurice David's *Who was "Columbus?"* *New York Times Book Review*, Aug. 13, 1933. See also Cecil Roth, "History of the Marranos," pp. 271-273; Hyland C. Kirk, "The Secret of Columbus," Washington, 1912.

14, 1932 (see *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, May 16, 1932), directed by will that a monument to the memory of Christopher Columbus be erected in his home-town of Chiavari, in appreciation of his devotion to America where he spent many years and built up his fortune. The deceased left behind a legacy of more than two million lira for charity.

It remains to be said that several abortive attempts have been made in recent years by the Spanish royal government to repatriate the Jews,³⁰ and only yesterday a movement for the rehabilitation of the descendants of Sephardic exiles of 1492 was initiated by the Spanish author and statesman, Francesco Avala. According to him there are about one million Sephardic Jews scattered throughout the world, who for more than four hundred years preserved the beautiful old Castilian speech and the traditional culture of their ancestors. He argued that since it would be impossible to get all these Jews to return to the mother country, he at least wanted to make them "Sons of Spain" again, by granting them Spanish citizenship, whether they returned or not. This act of justice to a historic people is something more than a gesture; it is a poetic *Ehrenrettung* in the noblest sense, and a fine challenge to the Nazi government in Germany to-day.

As one of the few surviving charter members of our Society, it behooves me to say a word touching Dr. Adler's share in bringing it into existence.

It was in the *Menorah Monthly* of 1888 (vol. v, pp. 191-93), acting upon the suggestion of B. Felsenthal, that he first urged the establishment of an American Jewish Historical Society. In the spring of 1892 he issued a call to about forty persons to meet for that purpose. An organization meeting was convened on June 7, 1892. Dr. Adler acted as temporary chairman and secretary of that meeting. Our Society was then

³⁰ See the article "Spain Welcomes Jewish Exiles Back," *New York Times*, April 17, 1932, Section 9, p. 8.

organized, and Dr. Adler was elected corresponding secretary, and member of the committee on organization.

The first scientific meeting was held December 15, 1892, at Philadelphia.¹¹ Dr. Adler read three papers, which were printed in our *Publications*, No. 1, 1893. Since then he has contributed many papers, which appeared in subsequent numbers. They are all listed in the Adler bibliography.¹² His trial of Gabriel de Granada by the Inquisition in Mexico, 1642-1645, constituted our *Publications*, No. 7, and his "Jews in the Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States," *Publications*, No. 15.

Dr. Adler was one of the three incorporators of the Society, December 19, 1898. He served as corresponding secretary, 1892-1898, and as president, December, 1898-February, 1921. He edited our *Publications*, nos. 1-8, and was a member of the Publication Committee from 1898 to the present time, *ex-officio* during his presidency, so that all our *Publications* had the benefit of his supervision. An illuminated address, appreciative of his services to the Society, was presented to him at its thirtieth annual meeting, April, 1922. Since his retirement from the presidency, he has been a member of the executive council as past president.

Dr. Adler's published papers are of considerable importance, throwing as they do a flood of light upon the inner life of a large colony of Marranos, living in Mexico, the Philippines and elsewhere in Spanish America. Not only are facts of vital importance for historical research disclosed, indicating in lurid

¹¹ For fuller details, see "report on organization, abstract from the minutes," published by the Society, 1892, 20 pages. I am indebted to Edward D. Coleman for the statistical information bearing upon Dr. Adler's official activities in relation to our Society, set forth in the foregoing paragraphs.

¹² "Bibliography of the Writings and Addresses of Dr. Cyrus Adler," by Edward D. Coleman and Joseph Reider, in "Selected Papers, Lectures and Addresses of Dr. Cyrus Adler," Philadelphia, 1933.

detail the manner of procedure in formal trials for heresy and for the crime of Judaizing, under the rule of the Holy Office, but here we have, for the first time, not only in English, but in any language, a faithful and complete transcript of two momentous documents, which set forth the heroism and fortitude of Gabriel de Granada, of Jorge de Almeyda, of Tomas Trebiño de Sobremonte and of several scores of coreligionists who adhered with fanatic ardor to what was satirically termed "the dead Law of Moses" and who, after suffering ever imaginable torture and indignity, went bravely to their death, in some instances with the *Sh'ma* on their lips.¹³ Paraphrasing an epigram of Juvenal, we might well exclaim, after reading these seventeenth-century records, edited with intelligent skill by Dr. Adler, *difficile est panegyricum non scribere*, it is difficult *not* to eulogize them!

The publication of the diplomatic correspondence of our government with the sovereign representatives of Turkey, Roumania and Russia, made possible through Dr. Adler's industry, points to the fearless and uncompromising manner of our approach to grave and perplexing problems affecting the safety and welfare of Jews on foreign soil and indicates the humanitarian influence of the United States during the past hundred years. Here is assembled an array of material sufficient to confound our so-called patriots who fear Federal intervention on behalf of our Jewish brethren overseas and prefer to remain either passive or inarticulate.¹⁴

¹³ Cecil Roth, *supra*, pp. 162, 174, 281, 283, 388-389 gave a brief, but graphic recital of the martyrdom of these Marranos and devoted much space otherwise to the record of the secret Jews in Spanish America. See especially his chapter xi.

¹⁴ Max J. Kohler issued, under the auspices of the Jewish Academy of Arts and Sciences, a survey of these diplomatic interventions in a booklet of seventy-nine pages "The United States and German-Jewish Persecutions. Precedents for Popular and Governmental Action," New York, 1933. See *The American Hebrew*, November 3, 1933, p. 424.

There is no time to summarize these papers of Dr. Adler's and others contributed to the *Publications* of our Society and elsewhere. Abstracts of them and of his eighty-three articles in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," dealing mainly with American biography and local history, including his still valuable summary of the Jews in America, were prepared for me by my friend Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom, to whom I am deeply beholden. They have been deposited in the archives of our Society.

Dr. Adler is a scholar of distinction, who has the gift of brevity, making his literary style at once pleasing and stimulating. There are few among us who have such command of English as he, and who have been able to sustain the high enthusiasm of our younger years with such fervor and idealism.

Author, historian, archaeologist, folklorist, biographer, bibliographer, editor, curator, creative librarian, administrator and executive, friend and patron of scholars, and above all, passionate lover of his people's good, Cyrus Adler, one of the so-called elder statesmen of our day, his work will not perish from the earth!

A STUDY OF BRAZILIAN JEWISH HISTORY 1623-1654, BASED CHIEFLY UPON THE FINDINGS OF THE LATE SAMUEL OPPENHEIM.¹

BY RABBI HERBERT I. BLOOM, M. H. L.

I. INTRODUCTION.

It has been my privilege to examine most of the material on Brazil in the Oppenheim collection and to base the following article upon the data gathered by the deceased scholar and upon my own researches in the field. Where reference to Oppenheim and other authorities is not expressly stated the material is from my own unpublished book on Amsterdam Jewry.

As yet the Oppenheim papers are not sufficiently well-ordered to draw up an adequate calendar. They consist of many photostats of original documents, translations from the various documents and typewritten translated copies of photostats, also personal notes and comments upon material, abstracts and translations of both contemporary and more recently printed books, corrections of printed works on the subject and comparisons of these. Since I do not know shorthand the notes put down in this fashion are not at my disposal. I have checked all the references to printed sources

¹ At the suggestion of Dr. George A. Kohut and through the good offices of Albert M. Friedenberg, corresponding secretary of the American Jewish Historical Society, I was granted permission to examine the papers of the late Samuel Oppenheim, an indefatigable scholar and tireless collector. His finds are deposited with the Society. I wish to thank Professor Salo Baron for his constructive advice and criticism of this paper and for the many hours of his valuable time spent in reading the manuscript. Thanks are also due to the librarian of the Society, E. D. Coleman, for his helpful cooperation.

and photostats of documents collected by Oppenheim and cited in this paper with the exception of the translations from the Portuguese as I am not conversant with the language.

The best ordered papers on Brazil may indicate something of the nature of the material. The following is a list of the contents of one collection which was no doubt meant to be the nucleus of a book:

- Packet 1. Material from printed and some MS. sources in the U. S., collected prior to first appropriation for this research work in October, 1924.
- Packet 2. Material collected since then from printed sources, translated.
- Packet 3. Rough translation by Paul V. Shaw (unrevised) of references to Jews in two contemporary Portuguese works, Calado's *O Valeroso Lucideno* (1648) and Raphael de Jesus' *Catrioto Lusitano* (1677).
- Packet 4. Photostats (positives) of all items, in full, relating to Jews, cited by Wätjen in his book on the Dutch in Brazil and in his pamphlet *Das Judentum*, etc., and of other items from the *Rijksarchief*, not cited by him. About 88 pages.
- Packet 5. Translations of all of the items in No. 4 above.
- Packet 6. Typewritten copy (carbon) of the photostats (negatives) of items (not included in Nos. 9, 14, 15, and 16 below) obtained from the *Rijksarchief* and not posited in No. 4 above.
- Packet 7. Translation of items in No. 6 above.
- Packet 8. Translation of documents relating to charter by States General to the Jews in Brazil, December 7, 1645, and its confirmation, September 30, 1653. Photostats (positive) of the Dutch included in No. 4 above.
- Packet 9. Typewritten copy (carbon) of documents in Dutch, Latin and Portuguese, relating to capture of Jews in Rio San Francisco, Brazil, sent to Lisbon and handed over to the Inquisition, 1646-1649.
- Packet 10. Translation of documents in No. 9 above.
- Packet 11. Photostats (positive) of Portuguese minutes of the Jewish Congregation in Brazil, 1649-1654, obtained by Oppenheim from the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation in Amsterdam. 29 pages.

- Packet 12. Typewritten copy (carbon) of the minutes, No. 11 above.
- Packet 13. Translation of the minutes, same.
- Packet 14. Typewritten copy (carbon) of testimony in Dutch, Portuguese and French of witnesses in a bribery investigation in Brazil, 1643-1644 and 1646-1647. No positives of the photostats of this made.
- Packet 15. Typewritten copy (carbon) of names of Jews in list of purchasers of negroes from Guinea, sold at auction 1640-1644 and of names of Jewish purchasers of goods at auction in 1641. No positives made of the photostats of this.
- Packet 16. Typewritten copy (carbon) of list of debtors of West India Company on Brazil account, December 31, 1645, including names of many Jews. No positives made of these.

II. DUTCH CONQUEST AND OCCUPATION OF BRAZIL.

In this section we shall discuss the founding of the West India Company, its policy in Brazil, the problem of Jewish participation in the Company, the Dutch conquest of Brazil, the part played in it by the old Marrano settlers, Jewish arrivals from various countries, their adjustment to Brazilian conditions and the establishment of their synagogues.

a) *The West India Company.*

Since the beginning of European colonization, long before the formation of the West India Company, Dutch merchantmen had visited the islands of the Caribbean.

The man who tried to promote the establishment of the West India Company was Willem Usselinx from Antwerp who had lived in Middelburg, Holland, since 1591. His ideal was to found colonies in America without slaves. The people there were to till the ground and in return to receive manufactured articles from Holland in exchange for their agricultural products. Colonization and the formation of commercial relations were the primary motives which prompted Usselinx

to suggest the establishment of the West India Company. The government favored the project and before the twelve years armistice between Spain and Holland was over (1609-1621) the States General had made plans for the founding of a company, which became a reality in 1621. The plans show that the government's motives were unlike those of Usselinx as its main concern was the rapid acquisition of wealth by means of the seizure of Spanish ships and the infliction of damage upon the enemy. True to the mercantilistic economies of that time the company was to act on the principle that the riches of a country were to be measured by the specie in its coffers. Colonies were considered legitimate sources of this metallic wealth.

The Dutch government's further intention was to transfer the war to foreign waters by means of the company's ships. Besides it was hoped that the Mexican and Peruvian silver which had formerly gone to Spain might be diverted to Holland. Silver was important since most colonial goods were paid for with it.²

Unlike the East India Company that of the West was founded primarily as a military enterprise, the chief concern of which was the capture of enemy loot. No one was better fitted to harass the foe by sea than the buccaneer admiral Piet Hein. In 1627 he seized 22 of a fleet of 30 Spanish ships. His widely heralded victory over the "Spanish Silverfleet" in 1628 netted the company from 11,500,000 to 15,000,000 guilders,³ and yielded a 50% dividend to the shareholders. This clearly illustrates that the company's main function was

² W. Sombart, *Der Moderne Kapitalismus*, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 52, München, 1921.

³ Joannes de Laet, *Tegenwoordige Staet der Vereenighde Nederlanden*, i, p. 147;

E. Luzac, *Holland's Rijkdom*, i, p. 320, Leiden 1780-1783;

H. C. Diferee, *De Geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen Handel tot den Val der Republiek*, p. 267, Amsterdam 1908.

the acquisition of money by means of plundering the enemy. Since Piet Hein's victories could not be repeated, and colonies required great expenditure for their upkeep and costly defense operations, the company soon found itself on the down grade.

While the East India Company experienced no hardship in raising the necessary capital to further its ends the company of the West found it difficult to gather the requisite sum of 7,108,106 guilders⁴ until Piet Hein's victory in 1628. Amsterdam furnished 2,846,582 guilders of the total capital.

The old idea of monopoly as the prerogative and chief income of the trading company was given a severe blow in favor of free trading when the company realized that if it persisted in the principle of trade monopoly it would be undermined. From the beginning of the Brazilian enterprise it was unable to supply the necessities of the colonists either for military or peaceable pursuits. In spite of its protests there were free merchants in Brazil from the outset. In 1634 the government in The Hague lifted the monopoly but levied high import duties. On May 9, 1637 a petition requesting freedom of trade operations, signed by Brazilian merchants including many Jews, was submitted to the government.⁵ The following Jewish or Marrano names are among the signers: Antonio Paijs Dassevedo, Balthazr de Fonzega, Michel Rodrigus Mendus, Maniel Roderigus Tavarus, Antonio Roderigus Tavarus, Louwies Nununs, Jaspas Ferdinandus da Costa, Maniel Rodrigus Cardose and Maniel Gonsaluns de Nies.

A difference of opinion existed as to the advisability of the independent traders. The Chamber of Amsterdam, some of whose members were active traders with Brazil, favored the partial removal of monopoly. The Chamber of Zeeland, however, committed to the old policy, protested against the com-

⁴ Luzac, *supra*, i, p. 318.

⁵ O. packet # 1 quotes *Kroniek van het Historisch Genootschap, Utrecht*, 1869, p. 191.

pany's waiving of its rights.⁶ Count Johan Maurits, governor of New Holland from 1637-1644 entered the dispute with a letter, January 14, 1638.⁷ His was the decisive vote in favor of the individual trader. On April 29, 1638, the States General at The Hague, acting as arbitor in the settlement of the quarrel between the Chamber of Amsterdam and the Chamber of Zeeland, decided upon the radical departure of limiting the West India Company's monopoly to the importation of slaves and war material and the export of dyewood. All other commercial enterprises were open to individual merchants regardless of nationality.⁸ It would at first appear that curtailment of the monopoly might be detrimental to the company. In point of fact the contrary condition obtained since the new policy so stimulated trade that the company itself derived great benefit therefrom. From 1637-1644 it is said to have received 17,886,737 guilders for the export of sugar, wood, elephant tusks, copper, indigo and other articles.⁹ The

⁶ H. Waetjen, *Das holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien*, p. 287-295, Haag 1921; reviewed, by Albert M. Friedenberg, in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, N. S., vol. xiv, pp. 379-383.

Etienne Laspeyres, *Geschichte der volkswirtschaftlichen Anschauungen der Niederländer und ihrer Literatur zur Zeit der Republik*, p. 81, Leipzig, 1863;

J. J. Reesse, *De Suikerhandel van Amsterdam van het begin der 17^e Eeuw tot 1813*, p. 194 ff. Haarlem 1908.

⁷ Waetjen, *supra*, p. 295;

Kroniek, *supra*, 11th year, p. 62;

Casparis Barlaei, *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi gestarum sub praefectura Illustrissimi Comitiss J. Mauriti Nassoviae etc.* translated into Dutch *Nederlandsch Brazilie onder het Bewind van Johan Maurits Grave van Nassau*, p. 107.

L. Driesen, *Leben des Fürsten Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen*, p. 66, Berlin, 1849;

Laspeyres, *supra*, p. 83.

⁸ Waetjen, *supra*, p. 298;

Luzac, *supra*, i, p. 327ff.

⁹ These figures are quoted in a contemporary pamphlet *Brasilsche Gelt-Sack, Waer in dat klaerlijck ver-toont wort waer dat de Partici-*

slave monopoly netted the company 240% profit on each slave.¹⁰

b) *Jewish Participation in the West India Company.*

It is difficult to determine the exact extent of Jewish participation in the West India Company as the archive material in Holland has not yet been sufficiently studied. According to a list of participants for the years 1623-1626 Amsterdam Jews subscribed 36,100 guilders to the original capital of the company.¹¹ However, as long as complete lists of shareholders are wanting no adequate estimate of the rôle played by the Jews in the membership of the company can be determined.

There are lists of main participants for the years 1656, 1658 and 1671.¹² On the first list (1656) there are seven Jewish

panten van de West-Indische Compagnie haer Geldt ghebleven is, Reciff 1647, *Rijksarchief*, The Hague, Holland, quoted by Waetjen, *supra*, p. 310 and Reesse, *supra*, p. 188ff.

¹⁰ O. packet # 15 has copies of 27 lists of the names of people who bought slaves from the company. These lists show that the company exacted 240% above the selling price of slaves.

¹¹ Joannes de Laet, *Historie ofte Jaerlijck Verhael van de Ver-richtinghen der Geoctroyeerde West Indische Compagnie in derthien Boecken*, i, Leyden, 1644 states concerning participants in *Octroy* of the High Mighty Sirs, States General issued to the West Indian Company, # XXIV; "All inhabitants of this land and other lands will be notified by the public posting of notices within one month time after this date that they will be admitted to this Company within five months beginning from the first of July 1621. They may pay whatsoever money they wish to invest in three instalments, one third at the expiration of the said five months and the other two thirds in three successive years. In the event that the 'general meeting' decides that the terms of payment may be prolonged the participants will be notified in advance by public notices." De Laet does not mention the minimum amount of investment requisite for a participant.

¹² Joannes de Laet, *supra*, i, in Agreement between directors and main-participants of the West India Company approved by the High and Mighty Sirs States General # 11 states: "No one can be a main participant who has not invested in the Company from its inception

names in the total of 167 or a little more than 4% of the whole, on the second list (1658) there are eleven Jews in a total of 169 names or about 6½% and in the third (1671) there are ten Jews in a total of 192 names or about 5%. These documents show only the number of participants without stating the amount invested by each one.¹³ Oppenheim found an unpublished list of main participants for the year 1674.¹⁴ This list is distinguished from the others in that 72 out of 111 names are accompanied by amounts invested; 11 Jewish names or about 10% are included in the list:

	Guilders
Antonio Lopes Suasso	107,667
Abraham Alewijn (Jewishness uncertain)	40,300
Johacob de Pinto	42,000
Simon & Louis Rodrigues de Sousa	30,000
Jeronimus Nunes da Costa	46,200
Jacob d'el Monte	30,000
Jeronimias Noiret (Jewishness uncertain)	no amount
Isaac Jan Nijs	" "
Jacob & Moses Nunes Rodrigus	" "

It appears that the growth of Jewish participation from 4% to 10% in the years 1658-1674 was gradual. Oppenheim¹⁵ points out that there were essentially the same number of Jewish participants in the company several years before 1674.

or is not known in the books for two years. He must have invested in his own name the requisite amount necessary for a director in each of the Chambers"; and in the *Octroy, supra*, # 13: "Nobody will be chosen director in the Chamber of Amsterdam who has not himself invested the sum of 6,000 guilders and in the Chambers of the Meuse, the Northern Quarters and Vrieslandt and the Urban and Rural Chamber who has not invested the sum of 4,000 guilders."

¹³ Samuel Oppenheim, "The Early History of the Jews of New York, 1654-1664," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 18, p. 14ff.

¹⁴ O. packets # 1 and # 4 has a copy and photostat of this list. The document is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dutch West India Company papers. In the year 1674 the Old West India Company liquidated.

¹⁵ Oppenheim, *supra*, p. 14ff.

No wonder that as early as 1655 a grant of privileges issued to the Jews by the West India Company distinctly says that the Jews should be permitted to settle in New Amsterdam "in view of the great fortune which they had invested in the company."¹⁶ Menasseh ben Israel in his "Humble Adresses" likewise states that the Jews possess a great deal in the company. He says:

They [the Jews] have there [Amsterdam] no lesse than three hundred houses of their own, enjoy a good part of the West and East Indian Compagnies. . . .¹⁷

c) *Dutch Occupation of New Holland before the Governorship of Johan Maurits.*

While the West India Company at home was interested in procuring funds, costly military operations were carried on in the colonies.

From the very year of its inception, 1621, the West India Company, following Usselinx's advice, turned its attention to poorly defended Brazil. In December, 1623 the fleet to conquer Brazil set sail from Holland.¹⁸ In 1624 Bahia was taken by the Dutch. They only succeeded in keeping it for one year after which Portugal reconquered and held it.

As a result of the wealth obtained by Piet Hein's capture of the "Spanish Silverfleet" the company equipped an expedition which succeeded in acquiring part of Northern Brazil. In March, 1630 Recife capitulated to the Dutch. As soon as they gained this stronghold the Hollanders attempted to cultivate the ground and carry on colonizing endeavors. The

¹⁶ O. packet # 1.

¹⁷ Menasseh ben Israel, "Humble Addresses To his Highnesse the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland," by Menasseh ben Israel, "a Divine and Doctor of Physic in behalfe of the Jewish nation," p. 8, London, 1655.

¹⁸ de Laet, *supra*, i, p. 7, gives a detailed description of the expedition.

climate and unsanitary conditions caused much sickness among the settlers. Added to this, the new government was hard put to keep order, as the population consisted of diverse elements many of which had been originally criminals sent to the Portuguese penal colony. In spite of these obstacles the Dutch continued their military operations successfully. A proclamation of December 26, 1634 offered inducements to all groups of the population willing to throw in their lot with the Dutch.¹⁹ By 1636 they had conquered a large part of Brazil which they called New Holland.

From 1629-1637 the Dutch seized 39,355 cases of sugar amounting to 7,871,000 guilders.²⁰ In 1637 Dutch territory extended from Rio San Francisco in the South to the captivity of Maranhao in the North.

d) *The Old Marrano Settlers and the New Jewish Arrivals.*

One reason for the presence of Jewish planters in the colonies was that after the discovery of Brazil in 1500 the Portuguese government could not find enough people willing to colonize the new territory and so it forced criminals and Jews to go to these regions. In 1532 sugarcane was brought from Madeira and the Canary Islands to Brazil. The Jews may have played a part in this matter as we know that there were Jewish planters on these islands at that time.²¹

When the Marranos in Spain saw that their Jewish brethren thrived in Brazil they fled from the Inquisition to that

¹⁹ O. packet #1 points out that Waetjen in his book on Brazil overlooks the fact that the large emigration to Brazil was not made after this proclamation but in compliance with the instruction of the West India Company of August 23, 1636, though he refers to and quotes other sections of those instructions. He did not quote the page on which Waetjen states this. As far as I could find Waetjen, *supra*, p. 68, refers only to the return of the inhabitants of Paraiba.

²⁰ Joannes de Laet, *supra*, i, p. 20 of Appendix.

²¹ Knapp, *Der Ursprung der Sklaven in den Kolonien*, p. 11.

country. There they were able to live in comparative freedom and to gain wealth until Spain united with Portugal in 1580 and the Inquisition became severe in the colonies.²²

In 1599 there were 46 sugarmills in Bahia; in 1600 Brazil had 120 sugarmills which produced 60,000 cases of sugar.²³

The Jewish colonists in Brazil, suffering from the rigors of Portuguese intolerance, were glad to learn that the West India Company intended to conquer the colony. They knew that under Dutch rule freedom of worship would be granted them.²⁴ Jews were even accused by the Portuguese of having given information as to the condition of affairs there. When Portugal reconquered Bahia (1625) at least five Jews were put to death because of their alleged Dutch sympathies.²⁵ A document of 1634 in the records of the Inquisition claimed that two Jews, Alvarez Franco and Manuel Fernandez Drago, who lived in Bahia when the Dutch conquered Pernambuco, had made the plan for the conquest. It further pointed out that the conquest of Pernambuco was the work of the Jews of Amsterdam, the leader of whom, Antonio Vaez Henriques *alias* Moses

²² At that time there were several Jews worth from 60,000 to 100,000 crusados. 100 crusados equal 105 guilders. A guilder (Dutch) equals 40 American cents. A guilder is divided into 20 stuivers or 100 cents. Max J. Kohler, "Jewish Life in New York before 1800," *Publications, supra*, No. 2, p. 95.

²³ Edmund O. von Lippmann, *Geschichte des Zuckers*, p. 484, Leipzig, 1890. One case of sugar equalled 500 pounds.

²⁴ Alphonse de Beauchamp, *Histoire du Brésil*, ii, p. 159, Paris, 1815; Robert Southey, "History of Brazil," i, p. 527, London, 1810, 1817; Iz. Prins, *De Vestiging der Marranen in Noord Nederland in de XVI^e eeuw*, p. 150-151, Amsterdam, 1927;

P. M. Netscher, *Les Hollandais au Brésil*, p. 14, La Haye, 1853;

G. A. Kohut, *Les Juifs dans les Colonies Hollandaises*, *Revue des Etudes Juives* vol. xxxi, p. 293 ff;

H. Waetjen, *Das Judentum und die Anfänge der modernen Kolonisation*, p. 31, Stuttgart, 1914.

²⁵ Max J. Kohler, "Beginnings of New York Jewish History," *Publications, supra*, No. 1, p. 44.

Cohen, accompanied the expedition.²⁶ It is clear from the above that the Inquisition suspected an understanding between Amsterdam and Brazilian Jews.

We learn that besides Moses Cohen other Jews were given free passage to the colony.²⁷ Their participation in the conquest was particularly valuable because they knew Portuguese and had connections with their coreligionists in Brazil. When the States General on January 9, 1634, issued a proclamation guaranteeing Jews and Catholics the free practise of their religion, "without investigation of their conscience or their home" many Marranos gathered the courage to profess Judaism openly.²⁸ By 1637, as a result of the freedom permitted them, Jewish refugees had come from Hungary, Poland, Turkey, the Barbary States, Spain, Portugal, Holland and Germany.²⁹

The Dutch Jews were much in demand because many of them knew Portuguese as well as Dutch. Since all official documents had to be rendered into Dutch their services were sought after. They prospered because they could demand high prices for their work as translators. Their knowledge

²⁶ Dr. Cyrus Adler, "A Contemporary Memorial relating to Damages to Spanish interests in America done by Jews of Holland (1634)," *Publications, supra*, No. 17, p. 45ff.

J. S. da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam, 1593-1925*, p. 73, Amsterdam, 1925.

²⁷ H. J. Koenen, *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, p. 277ff. Utrecht, 1843; G. A. Kohut, "Sketches of Jewish Royalty, Bravery and Patriotism in the South American Colonies and the West Indies," in Simon Wolf, "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen." Philadelphia, 1895, p. 443; T. Tal, *Oranjebloesems*, p. 37, Amsterdam, 1898; Kohut, *supra*, p. 294; A. M. Vaz Dias, *Een blik in de Marranenhistorie, De Vrijdagavond*, April 29, 1932, p. 77ff; Netscher, *supra*.

²⁸ *Groot Placaatboek*, ii, p. 261, art. 85/89, 's Gravenhage, 1801; Southey, *supra*, p. 645.

²⁹ Waetjen, *Judentum, supra*, p. 36.

of both languages also aided them in their private commercial enterprises.³⁰

The older Jewish inhabitants owned extensive sugar plantations; the new arrivals developed petty trade and brokerage and soon accommodated themselves to Brazilian conditions.

In 1642 another group, two hundred in number, came from Amsterdam under the leadership of Rabbi Isaac Aboab and Moses Raphael de Aguilar.³¹ An annual salary of 1,600 guilders was granted to Rabbi Aboab, Haham Jehosua Velozinos received 400 guilders per year and the teacher Semuel Tarazao 250 guilders.³² Menasseh ben Israel contemplated joining the group. In the second volume of his *Conciliador*,³³ dedicated to the following prominent Brazilian Jews: David Senior Coronal, Abraham de Mercado, Jacob Micate, Isaac Castanho and others, he bade his readers and friends in Holland goodbye. However, his friends and associates induced him to stay in Europe.³⁴

The Dutch Jews founded several congregations, the most known of which are those in Recief and on the Antonio Vaz island. In the archive of the Portuguese Jewish Congregation in Amsterdam there is a book of statutes containing the regulations of the Congregation Tszur Yisroel in Recief, 1640-1654.³⁵ The communities were modeled after that of Amsterdam with their Talmud Torah called Ets Haim, charity or-

³⁰ O. packet # 3 quotes Calado *O Valeroso Lucideno*, p. 68, Lisboa, 1648.

³¹ O. packet # 1 quotes David Franco Mendes in *Ha-Measeph*, 1784, p. 15-16. See concerning Isaac Aboab also Kohut "Early Jewish literature in America," *Publications, supra*, No. 3, p. 103ff.

³² J. S. da Silva Rosa, *supra*, p. 75.

³³ Printed in Frankfurt a/m, 1632.

³⁴ O. packet # 1 quotes M. Kayserling "The Earliest Rabbis and Jewish writers of America," *Publications, supra*, No. 3, p. 13-14.

³⁵ O. packets # 11, 12, and 13 have photostats and translation of those regulations, see also Mendes dos Remedios, *Os Judeus Portugueses em Amsterdam*, p. 52, note 1, Coimbrã, 1911.

ganizations and cemetery. In order to maintain unity it was decided that no other congregation might be founded in Recief or Antonio Vaz and that other groups in Brazil desiring to form congregations must meet with the approval of the mother organization in Recief before their establishment.

Perhaps the influx of Jews from Amsterdam furnished the impetus for communal organization because the Amsterdam Jews had cherished their right of religious freedom for years in the mother country.³⁶ It seems that the influence of the new arrivals overcame the persistent opposition of the Classis (church council) who had repeatedly objected to Jewish public worship.³⁷

The newly established congregation forbade Jews to talk against other religions. This ruling was instituted to preserve concord among the various elements and to prevent punishments and fines such as those imposed by the authorities at the instigation of the Classis. For instance, December 1641, shortly before the group of two hundred Dutch Jews arrived, a Jew had to pay a fine of 4,000 guilders to the poor for mocking the practise of the Christian church. A few months later a Jewish broker, Daniel Gabilho, was condemned to hang but freed upon the Jewish community's payment of 15,000 guilders and the condition that the community be responsible for him. He was exiled for ten years to the fever-infested penal colony of St. Thomas and was at all times amenable for the recovery of the remainder of his indebtedness. Another Jew was tortured and banished.³⁸

The newly organized communities made a rule that no one could leave Brazil without paying a certain amount to the congregation. The tax was probably levied on Jews who had

³⁶ See p. 66.

³⁷ See p. 69.

³⁸ O. packet # 5 quotes *Notulen* of Brazil, West India Company, Old Company (W. I. C. O. C.) # 69, January 27, 1642 and February 19 and 20, 1642.

acquired wealth in the colony to prevent them from returning to Holland. Their leaving would, of course, make the Brazilian congregations so much the poorer. A tax of 4% was put on all imported merchandise, 3% on all money, gold, silver and jewels, $\frac{1}{4}$ % tax was placed on the sale of sugar, tobacco and houses. Armed merchantships and privateers had to pay 3% of their net cargoes.³⁹ It is not a strange phenomenon for Jewish communities to levy taxes on members leaving their midst. Jewish community taxes on imported merchandise and other commercial transactions would seem to be unique unless the government delegated the community to collect taxes from the Jewish merchants for the colony, in which case the situation is not uncommon.

III. THE PERIOD OF PROSPERITY (1637-1644).

In this section we shall discuss the period of the greatest affluence in Brazil during the governorship of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau, the trades and occupations of various Jewish settlers and the opposition and prejudice evinced by the clergy and induced by the commercial rivalry between Jew and Christian.

a) *Dutch Rule during the Governorship of Johan Maurits.*

Count Johan Maurits of Nassau,⁴⁰ a man of fine discernment and knowledge of human beings, possessed of a relatively tolerant nature, was well fitted to govern a heterogeneous population. His military exploits, coupled with an appreciation of the arts of peace, ideally equipped him to cope with the difficult tasks of governing Brazil. His work

³⁹ Mendes dos Remedios, *supra*, p. 52;

O. packets # 11, 12 and 13;

J. S. Da Silva Rose, *supra*, p. 74.

⁴⁰ Arnoldus Montanus, *'t Leven en Bedrijf der Prinsen van Oranje*, p. 221, Schoonhoven, 1664.

was complicated because the inhabitants of New Holland comprised Dutch Protestants, Portuguese Catholics, New Christians, professing Jews, native Indians and negro slaves. Besides he was surrounded by hostile Portuguese colonies which the West India Company ordered him to capture without furnishing sufficient aid. The governor repeatedly urged the company to use every means of augmenting the colony's population. He suggested that German Protestants who were anxious to leave their war-ridden country, should be induced to enlist in the service of the company and settle in Brazil.

One of his first acts as governor was to add to the company's coffers by auctioning off abandoned Portuguese sugar-mills which the Dutch had confiscated. The sale brought in 2,000,000 guilders. Johan Maurits permitted the purchasers to pay for the mills in instalments of sugar. There exists a list of the confiscated *engenhos* (sugarmills) stating the names of their former owners and the condition in which the mills were. It is difficult to decide which Portuguese names are Jewish and which are not. We know, however, that Jorgo Homen Pinto, one of those mentioned, was unquestionably a Jew since he was designated as such in other connections.⁴¹

In 1640 Portugal freed itself from the domination of Spain and the next year concluded an alliance with Holland. Both Dutch trading companies were loath to see peace since it would put an end to the conquest of Portuguese territory and the capture of Portuguese ships. The results of the peace negotiations were withheld from Count Johan Maurits as long as possible since the directors of the West India Com-

⁴¹ Waetjen, *Brasilien, supra*, p. 209. O. packet # 1 copies a document. *Sommier Discours over den Staet vande vier geconquesteerde capitania's Parnambuco, Itomarica, Paracaiba, ende Rio Grande inde Noorderdeelen von Brazil*, dated January 19, 1638 in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, 1879, p. 256-367 and *Revista do Instituto archaeologica & graphico*, 34.

pany were eager to seize as much territory as they could. While the defensive and offensive alliance between Holland and Portugal was in progress the captaincy of Maranhao, the African islands St. Thomas and Annabon, which furnished a supply of slaves, were taken by the Brazilian Dutch fleet.⁴² By the beginning of 1642 Dutch Brazil had reached the fullest extent of its expansion.⁴³ It included the following captaincies: Maranhao, Ceara, Rio Grande do Norte, Parahyba, Itamarica, Pernambuco, Alagoas and Sergipe.

The colony prospered throughout the administration of Count Johan Maurits. After his first term of office expired he intended to return to Holland.⁴⁴ The colonists sent a request to the company and to the States General asking that the count's stay in Brazil be prolonged.⁴⁵ He was persuaded to remain for some time longer.

There is no doubt that the governor did much to protect the Jews but at times he questioned his faith in them, fearing that they would swear allegiance to any power willing to grant them religious freedom and a measure of autonomy.⁴⁶ He voiced his apprehensions in a report which his secretary Tolner submitted to the Dutch authorities in Holland. Johan Maurits' secretary was sent on a mission to the fatherland to convince the West India Company that the colony could not do without substantial means of defense as the Portuguese colonists were eager to free themselves from Dutch rule. This would absolve them of their debts to the company and remove Calvinist oppression. Tolner further pointed out that the Portuguese would never be friendly to the Dutch

⁴² A. Montanus, *supra*, p. 284; H. Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 113.

⁴³ H. Waetjen *Brasilien*, *supra*.

⁴⁴ O. packet # 1 quotes Barlaeus, *supra*, p. 310.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ O. packet # 5 has a copy of a letter from Johan Maurits to the States General, September 24, 1642, Liassen W. I. C. O. C. States General, # 5773, *Rijksarchief*.

O. packet # 1 quotes Barlaeus, *supra*, p. 303-304.

unless they were given equal rights with the Protestants. The report stated that the Portuguese

detest our impositions and laws and the liberty of religious exercises which the Jews possess.

Count Johan Maurits considered it unfortunate that the Jews were permitted to observe their Sabbath openly while the Catholics were restricted in the practice of their religion.⁴⁷

Although the governor generally pursued a tolerant policy towards the Jews, he disapproved of favoring them more than the Brazilian Catholics, no matter what his dogmatic opposition to Catholicism may have been. In the first place, as Christians, they were superior to Jews and secondly he saw the danger of irritating so powerful an element of the colonial population.

During the last three years of his tenure of office (1641-1644) there were bad sugar harvests. Cognizant of the situation the governor did not insist upon immediate payment of the instalments of sugar due on the mills. As the West India Company was constantly in need of money it resented the governor's leniency.⁴⁸ To show its displeasure it refused to grant Johan Maurits' wish in the matter of more troops. In 1642 he requested his dismissal but did not leave until 1644.

It is indicative of what the Jewish settlers in Mauricia, the governor's residence, thought of him that they offered him a yearly stipend of 3,000 guilders if he would remain in the colony.⁴⁹ They thanked him for his moderation toward them and for his tolerance in matters of their religion.

⁴⁷ H. Waetjen, *Brasilien, supra*, p. 127.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

⁴⁹ O. packet # 1 quotes Waetjen, *Brasilien, supra*, p. 128-129. Netscher, *supra*, p. 127. O. packet # 5 has a copy of this letter.

According to Professor R. Fruin with whom Oppenheim communicated Waetjen made an error when he quoted the following phrase "even were it to shed our blood" as part of the document in question.

In the meantime Johan Maurits had given the government into the hands of the Supreme Council consisting of the Amsterdam merchant Hamel, the Haarlem goldsmith Bas and the Middelburg carpenter Bullestrate.⁵⁰ This proletarian trio was despised by the Portuguese who had been willing to heed the aristocratic nephew of the Dutch stadtholder but had nothing but contempt for these tradesmen. Aware of this the count admonished the council to be tolerant.

May 6, 1644, he convoked a farewell gathering at which Jews were also present. He thanked the convocation for their cooperation and service to the West India Company.⁵¹ The Jews offered the count 600,000 guilders for his residence *Vrijburg* which they purposed to transform into a synagogue.⁵² May 23, 1644, Johan Maurits left New Holland.

Fruin states that this quotation comes from an address of the *Schepensban* (board of aldermen) of Iganisson. The document mentioned by Waetjen is undated but Professor Fruin believes that it was delivered in the last quarter of 1642. It is signed by Duarte Saryua, Jose Fathias, Benjamin de Pina, Isaque Catanha, Isak da Costa, Jacacob Macata, Miguel Rois Mendes, Jacob Mose Aaharon Nheto, Isaque Semah and Abraham Abenaka.

O. packet # 1 quotes also Barlaeus, *supra*, p. 371.

⁵⁰ H. Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 133.

⁵¹ O. packet # 1 quotes John Nieuhof, "Voyages and Travels into Brazil," p. 57-58, and Pinkerton, "A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world," London, 1808-14, p. 744.

⁵² Luzac, *supra*, i, p. 330;

O. packet # 1 quotes *Journal ofte Kort Discours nopende de Rebelye en verradelycke Desseynen der Portugesen alhier in Brasil voorgenomen 't welck in Junio 1645 is ontdeekt*, Arnhem, 1647. Furthermore O. packet # 1 quotes Pierre Moreau *Les derniers guerres en Brezil*, Paris, 1651, as adding that the Christians prevented the sale because they did not wish the Jews to possess this residence. A. Montanus, *supra*, p. 580, states that the Jews offered 6,000 pounds for *Vrijburg*.

b) *Jewish Trades and Occupations.*

As we have said before, many of the old Marrano settlers and some of the Jewish newcomers possessed sugarmills and were interested in all branches of the sugartrade.

Retail trade and brokerage were in Jewish hands since 1638. The Christians were partly responsible for this because they neglected these branches of commerce. The gaps were filled by the Jews who made competition keen. Although Jews were accused of unsavory practises Christians seem to have preferred Jewish to Christian brokers.⁵³

Tax-farming, a traditional Jewish occupation, was not lacking in Brazil. In 1638 Moses Navarro bought the right to farm the tax on sugar from the region Pernambuco for 54,000 guilders. Benjamin de Pino purchased the right to farm the tax on the mills from the region S. Antao Popica and Serinhaim for 43,000 guilders. The total amount of taxes accruing to the West India Company from this source was 280,900 guilders.⁵⁴

We learn that few of the Jews who arrived from Holland concerned themselves with the tilling of the soil, the great majority being occupied in petty trade.

They reside mostly in Reciefe and know how to become masters of the entire business of trade.⁵⁵

A traveller who visited Brazil from 1640 to 1649 gives us a picture of the progress and prosperity of the Jews there. He says:

Among the free inhabitants of Brazil that were not in the company's service those of the Jewish nation were the most considerable in

⁵³ O. packet # 5 has a copy of a document to that effect, a letter from the Governor and Council to the Chamber of Zeeland, of the West India Company, dated September 24, 1642, W. I. C. O. C. # 57, also cited by Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 234.

⁵⁴ O. packet # 1 quotes Barlaeus, *supra*, p. 124.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

number, they had transplanted themselves thither from Holland. They had a vast traffic beyond the rest, they purchased sugarmills and built stately houses in the Recife.⁵⁶

The Christian inhabitants were envious because the Jews owned some of the best plantations in the river valley of Pernambuco and were among the leading slave-holders and slave traders in the colony. Oppenheim collected 27 lists of the names of people who bought slaves from the company from April 29, 1640 to September 22, 1643.⁵⁷ We are once more confronted with the difficulty of distinguishing Jewish names from those of Portuguese Christians but names like Joseph Abernaca and Samuel Montesino, are most probably Jewish. Isacq Franco Drago, another name on these lists, is certainly Jewish as August 25, 1660 saw the MS. of a complaint drawn up before the notary Padthuysen in Amsterdam to the effect that Drago's daughter has been insulted by a servant. It is clear from the document that the Dragos were Jews. We know that Isacq Franco Drago went to Brazil from Amsterdam shortly after 1633 and returned to Holland in 1654.⁵⁸ Slaves could be paid for in sugar and where payment was postponed the Jews charged from 3 to 4% monthly interest. June 13, 1643, Adriaen Lems wrote to the company's office in Middelburg that the Jews knew how to make business out of everything, but the (non-

⁵⁶ Johan Nieuhof, *Gedenkweerdige Brasiliaense Zee- en Lant-Reize*, etc., p. 214, Amsterdam, 1682; Netscher, *supra*, p. 103; Kohler, *supra*, p. 95; Sombart, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 35, Leipzig, 1911; *Idem*, *Kapitalismus*, *supra*, p. 903.

⁵⁷ O. packet # 15. The lists are to be found in the archives of W. I. C. O. C. # 55, *Rijksarchief*.

⁵⁸ Unpublished documents in *Notarieele Archieven Amsterdam* # 2886, Register Notaris Padthuysen. In 1633, Drago still in Amsterdam, had $\frac{3}{4}$ share in a cargo of the ship, *de Nachtegael*. When Drago returned to Amsterdam he sued the shipper's heirs for his share of the cargo (June 1, 1660).

Jewish) planters could not prosper because negroes were too dear and interest was too high.⁵⁹ Five years later we find the same complaint in a report about the declining affairs of the West India Company in Brazil. The report stated under "trade" :

If an order were made in Brazil that jobbers and Jews who buy up slaves for cash, should not sell them on credit for a higher rate than one percent a month, the slave being hypothecated to them for the full amount . . . ,

if this advice was heeded slaves would not be so exorbitantly high.⁶⁰ Mention is made of a Jew, Luis de Mercado, who owed the company 11,825 guilders, 15 stuivers, for rent of negroes.⁶¹

Some measure of Jewish commercial activity may be gauged from the fact that a number of Jews purchased cargo worth 6,646 guilders, 18 stuivers, 12 cents, from two ships taken as booty from the enemy, the total worth of the cargo being 13,332 guilders, 9 stuivers.⁶² The document containing this information read :

The following persons owe the company for what they have bought at public auction. The goods sold [at auction] comprise part of the cargo of ships, captured from the enemy, [the ships seized are] named Nossa. Sra. de Carma and Sra. de Censolial, *alias Wilde Beer* [Wild Boar].⁶³

⁵⁹ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, p. 40.

⁶⁰ O. packet # 1 quotes " Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York," vol. i, p. 244, Albany, 1853-1887.

⁶¹ O. packet # 5 has a copy of a letter from the Supreme Council to the Chamber of Zeeland archives W. I. C. O. C., *Rijksarchief*, # 64, concerning this matter.

⁶² O. packet # 15 has a copy of the list of purchasers.

⁶³ Whether de Censolial was originally a Dutch ship named *Wilde Beer* or carried this Dutch name to disguise the fact that it was a Portuguese ship is not stated.

	Guilders	Stuivers	Cents
Jacob Aboaff	203:	16:	
Moses Abendana	4:	4:	
David Jeseroen	241:	4:	
Abraham de Gamma	245:	4:	
Joao de Torres	1,392:	19:	
Luis Dias	204:	:	
Davit Israel	52:	6:	12
Jacob Baruch	950:	:	
Gaspr. Franco da Costa	338:	2:	
Isacq Gracel	303:	15:	
Diogo Dias Brandao	244:	:	
Moses Nahamias d'Castro	129:	12:	
Abraham da Costa	129:	12:	
Abraham de Vries (Jewishness uncertain)	259:	4:	
Abr. Aboaffe	178:	16:	
Abraham Solam	268:	4:	
Jacob Levi Pereire	165:	12:	
Andre Lopes	266:	8:	
Daniel Habilho	30:	:	
Franco Rodrigos	94:	:	
Isacq Pacheco	32:	:	
Davit Gabaij d'Maris	65:	:	
Abraham Calvo	10:	:	
Isacq Bourges	60:	:	
Luis daCosta	558:	:	
Gabriel Castanha	80:	:	
Israel daCunha	78:	:	
Joas de Fonseca	63:	:	

That the Jews were not only merchants, sugar planters and refiners, brokers and petty traders is clear from a reference to a Jewish engineer, Balthazer d'Affonseca, who built a bridge for Johan Maurits in 1640 connecting Recife with Mauricia.⁶⁴ The cost of the bridge was estimated at 240,000 guilders but was finished in wood rather than stone for 128,000 guilders.⁶⁵ The engineer was a Marrano who

⁶⁴ O. packet # 3 quotes Calado, *supra*, p. 151.

⁶⁵ H. Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 125; Barlaeus, *supra*, p. 205; see also Appendix C.

had lived in Brazil before 1628. He, his son and grandchildren openly professed Judaism when the Dutch established themselves there.⁶⁶

In the same year we also hear of a Jew, Bento Enriquez, apparently a prospector who succeeded in arousing the interest of the Supreme Council by the discovery of a great secret "possibly a goldmine." For the uncertain information he demanded a fairly large sum, also half of the future profits. After some negotiations he made a contract with the Council of the XIX (the executive body of the West India Company) and took a sample from the mine to Pernambuco which contained sulphur and lead and was of no great value.⁶⁷

Anxious to offer every concession to colonists the Dutch government fostered a liberal policy with regard to Jewish trades and occupations in its colonial domains. At home in Amsterdam Jews were restricted in their occupations until 1658 when they were conceded the right to engage Jewish solicitors to take charge of their legal affairs. April 7, 1645, the West India Company granted Michael Cardoso, "Portuguese of the Jewish nation," permission to practice law in Brazil. The Supreme Council of New Holland recoiled at the thought of a Jew functioning in this capacity. It refused to recognize his right to practise. At Cardoso's behest the Jews of Amsterdam interceded with the West India Company on his behalf. As a result of this pressure brought to bear by the Amsterdam Jews the company wrote the Supreme Council, August 11, 1645, criticizing their intolerant behavior and insisting that Cardoso be accorded the right to practice his profession.⁶⁸ It is significant⁶⁹ that the

⁶⁶ Calado, *supra*, p. 53.

⁶⁷ O. packet # 1 quotes Barlaeus, *supra*, p. 242.

⁶⁸ O. # 6 quotes a letter of Dr. Bijlsma who cites the *Missivenboek der XIX*, Archive W. I. C. O. C. # 10, *Rijksarchief*, and Letters from Directors of the West India Company to the Supreme Council, *Archief W. I. C. O. C.* # 10.

⁶⁹ See other instances of the intercession of Amsterdam Jewry on p. 70.

intercession of Amsterdam Jewry carried sufficient weight to force the government of Brazil to retract its refusal.⁷⁰

Whenever the Jews in the Dutch colonies suffered an injustice they appealed to the Jewish community in Amsterdam whose intervention often effectively altered abuses. The West India Company frequently took cognizance of the requests of Amsterdam Jewry because it could not neglect Jewish participation in the finances of the company nor fail to realize the economic importance of Jewish settlers in the colonies.

Jews are known to have made use of their international connections to operate efficiently as purveyors of supplies.⁷¹ Since the West India Company was remiss in sending necessities to the colony some Jewish traders in Brazil utilized their connections with their coreligionists in Amsterdam to furnish New Holland with provisions and stores. We find in January, 1650 that Simon and Louis Rodrigues de Sousa and Isaack Mocat, "burghers and merchants of Amsterdam," asked the States General that the receiver general be authorized to accept and pay a certain bill of exchange which the Supreme Council of Brazil drew, November, 1649, on the receiver general in the matter of the purchase of provisions; the sum is 39,713 guilders, 6 stuivers. The receiver general was authorized to pay the sum at the maturity out of the aforementioned twelve hundred thousand guilders set aside for help to Brazil.

February 22, 1650 another request was made by de Sousa and Mocat to pay the bill before maturity

in consideration that they have purchased provisions to the amount of the said sum for the purpose of sending the same to Brazil at the earliest date.

⁷⁰ H. J. Koenen, *supra*, pp. 186, 187.

⁷¹ O. packet # 1 quotes several documents from a MS. volume entitled *Extracts uit het register der Resolutien van de Hoog Mo. Heeren Staten General der Vereenigde Nederlanden* beginning 1649 ending 1651, in "Papers relating to Brazil" in the Library of Congress.

Six days later they repeated their request. The States General decided to pay them half because it was shown clearly that they have, pursuant to their promise, sent to Brazil provisions and supplies for the half of the aforesaid sum.

Hester Torres, widow of David Dias, David Nannes (Nunes?) and Moses de Asilva "all burghers and residents for many years in Amsterdam," asked the States General for acceptance and payment of two bills of exchange, one for 6,000 guilders and the other for 4,316 guilders, drawn by the Supreme Council of Brazil, December 10, 1649. May 29, 1650, it was decided to pay these bills of exchange because the money was due

the Portuguese merchants of Brazil for and on account of the provisions that were dispatched.⁷²

It is clear from the above that Jews participated in the chief commercial activities of the colony. There were doubtless other types of endeavor in which Jews took part. The minutes of the Portuguese congregation⁷³ mention Jewish privateers, tobacco merchants and real estate dealers but documents elucidating these activities have not as yet come to my attention.

c) Opposition to the Jews.

During the period when Johan Maurits was governor he provided that

heathens, Jews and Roman Catholics be treated according to their own needs but were to be convinced of the true religion.

He saw to it that schoolmasters were delegated to teach and ministers appointed to preach Protestantism to the natives.⁷⁴

⁷² Simon and Louis Rodrigues de Sousa were main-participants in the West India Company, see p. 50.

⁷³ See p. 57.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61;

Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 84.

The governor's consideration is shown by the fact that Jews were excused from the watch on their Sabbath.⁷⁵ This seems to imply that contrary to general practice some Jews actually served as soldiers in Brazil. The usual procedure was to deny the Jews the right to military service in lieu of which they paid a tax.⁷⁶ It appears that those Jews who enlisted in the service of the West India Company to help with the conquest⁷⁷ had to enroll as soldiers in return for free passage. We know that this is true of the company's Christian employees.⁷⁸

In spite of the governor's liberal attitude toward the Jews the non-Jewish colonists of Brazil seem to have been less tolerant than the Christians in Amsterdam. Especially the Protestant ministers were fired with the missionary spirit because they were in a Catholic country and eager to propagate Protestantism. At home, in Amsterdam, a citadel of the Reformation, their position was much more secure and there was not so great a need to persecute dissent and heresy.

The open profession of Judaism by some Marranos in New Holland displeased certain authorities, particularly the church council who voiced the objection of the Portuguese "Old Christians" in this matter. The council also complained of the bold manner in which the Jews were wont to comport themselves.⁷⁹ The Classis repeatedly protested that the Jews ridiculed Christian institutions.⁸⁰

In 1637 the minutes of the Classis of Brazil, meeting at Recief, contain an item about a Jewish woman accused of

⁷⁵ O. packet # 1 quotes Barlaeus, *supra*, p. 56.

⁷⁶ Oppenheim, *supra*, p. 25.

⁷⁷ See p. 54.

⁷⁸ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 82.

⁷⁹ O. packet # 1; *Sommier Discours*, see also note # 41.

⁸⁰ O. packet # 1 and 4 has a copy of the governor's report on this matter to the company, also cited in H. Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 222, and *Das Judentum*, *supra*, p. 36. The letter is addressed to the Chamber of Zeeland, Jan. 14, 1638, W. I. C. O. C. # 53, *Rijksarchief*; Southey, *supra*, i, p. 645.

blasphemy against "Our Savior Jesus Christ's holy baptism." A later meeting determined that, since there was a possibility of the woman's conversion, she was to be kept under observation but not punished.⁸¹

The Jews in New Holland displayed a noteworthy independence of spirit. They seem to have spared no words in criticizing Christianity. So frequent were the accusations of blasphemy⁸² that the Jewish congregation in 1642 was forced to take measures against this misbehavior.⁸³

In the same year a mob, incited by the Reform zealots and fanatic priests, fell upon a Jewish blasphemer and stoned him. This evoked a fearful excitement in the Jewish congregations in Amsterdam and Brazil. The Amsterdam Jewry charged the Recief government with favoring Jewish persecution and introducing the Inquisition in the colonies. As a result of this complaint the managers of the company required of Johan Maurits and his Supreme Council

punishment of the blasphemers according to the methods practised in Holland.⁸⁴

It appears that Jewish criticism of the ruling classes was not confined to ridicule of Christianity. A Portuguese writer

⁸¹ O. packet # 1 quotes *Kroniek*, *supra*, 1869.

⁸² Besides those protests of the Classis already noted there are others quoted by O. packet # 1 recorded in the meetings of the Classis of October 29, 1638, see *Kroniek*, 1873, *supra*, pp. 343 and 353; April 20, 1640, *Kroniek*, *supra*, pp. 361-362, 348, 367-368; November 21, 1640, *Kroniek*, *supra*, p. 390; October 17, 1641, *Kroniek*, *supra*, p. 400; November 12, 1642, "Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York," i, pp. 170, 171; July 18, 1644, *Kroniek*, *supra*, p. 400; January 9, 1646. O. packet # 5 has a copy of a document from the archives of the W. I. C. O. C., # 61 with answer in *Notulen* of Brazil, of which O. packet # 5 also has a copy, W. I. C. O. C., # 71 *Rijksarchief*, May 25, 1646; "Ecclesiastical Records," *supra*, i, p. 204.

There is a remark about the unrestricted liberties enjoyed by the Jews of Brazil in *Ontdeckinghe van Rijke Mijnen, in Brasil*, p. 5 Amsterdam 1639, quoted in O. packet # 1.

⁸³ See p. 56.

⁸⁴ O. packet # 1 quotes Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 233.

tells us that in 1639 a certain rabbi, preaching in a synagogue in Recief, reprehended

the scandalous excesses of the government. His industry ended as he was seen no more.

The rabbi probably berated the economic and political corruption of the government in New Holland, as the reference is found in a discussion of this condition.⁸⁵

A year before, January 5, 1638, the Classis petitioned Johan Maurits to close the two Jewish places of worship at Recief.⁸⁶ In a report, December 10, 1639, and read to the XIX, April 4, 1640, it was stated that

the Jews were censured for conducting their worship too publicly and for some time past have been quiet.⁸⁷

The Jews protested against the closing of their meeting places but the governor told them that although they were true and loyal subjects, the order to close the Jewish places of worship could not be rescinded. Hereafter Jewish worship had to be carried on in private houses. At the same time, however, the count felt impelled to warn the West India Company that the recrimination of the Classis of Brazil increased prejudice against the Jews.⁸⁸

Whether the order to close the synagogues was stimulated by the arrogance and criticism of the Jews, or whether it was purely a work of Christian prejudice is unknown. One thing remains clear that the closing of synagogues in a Dutch possession as late as 1638 was not the usual Dutch procedure.

When the Jews were forbidden public worship in Brazil there were three synagogues in Amsterdam, although in 1612 the burgomasters were incensed because of the building of

⁸⁵ O. packet # 3 quotes Raphael de Jesus Castrioto Lusitano, Lisbon, 1679, p. 194.

⁸⁶ O. packet # 1 quotes *Kroniek*, *supra*, p. 329.

⁸⁷ O. packet # 1 quotes Barlaeus, *supra*, p. 160.

⁸⁸ O. packet # 5 has a copy of this letter, dated August 12, 1641.

a second synagogue without their consent,⁸⁰ nevertheless they in no way curtailed these operations.

The reason why Jews were permitted more freedom of worship in Amsterdam than in Brazil is not far to seek. In Protestant Amsterdam the Jews were a negligible component of the population and one of the many foreign elements in a trading metropolis, while in Brazil the Jews were much more conspicuous amid the Dutch minority. Moreover, the Jewish emigrants to Brazil, especially the *Ashkenazim*, were predominantly concerned with petty trade while, on the other hand, the early Jewish settlers in Amsterdam were Sephardic merchants of wealth and dignity. When the *Ashkenazim* did come to the New Jerusalem (Amsterdam) during the thirty years war (1618-1648) a similar situation obtained. Although there was a congregation of Ashkenazic Jews there before 1635 (since there is an official document recording a quarrel between the Parnassim and the members of the High German Congregation)⁸⁰ they were either too poor to have their own synagogue⁸¹ or like the Brazilian Jews they had not been granted permission to build and were forced to worship in the private houses of their better situated brethren.

The Brazilian Jews did not take the order to close the synagogues too seriously, for November, 1640 the Classis of Brazil reported that the Jews built a place of worship without the permission of the authorities. February 13, 1645 the Supreme Council of Brazil wrote to the Chamber of Zeeland of the West India Company⁸² that they examined a com-

⁸⁰ Henriques de Castro, *Keur van Grafsteenen op de Nederlandsche Israelitiesche Begraafplaats te Ouderkerk a/d Amstel*, p. 4, Leiden, 1883; Professor Dr. H. L. Rogge, *Het Kerkelijke Leven*, p. 92, The Hague, 1901-1904.

⁸⁰ *Handvesten van Amsterdam*, June 9, 1635.

⁸¹ Jan Wagenaar, *Amsterdam, in: Zijne Opkomst, Aanwas, Geschiedenis*, etc., ii, pp. 142-143, Amsterdam, 1790-96.

⁸² O. packet # 5 quotes this letter in archives W. I. C. O. C., # 60, *Rijksarchief*.

plaint of the Classis of Amsterdam. The Supreme Council stated *inter alia* "before our arrival here they had a synagogue at Recief." Doubtless the words "our arrival" refer to the coming of the members of the Supreme Council then in office. It is very unlikely that a synagogue functioned under Portuguese rule.

The Brazilian merchants likewise often gave vent to their prejudice against the Jews. As early as December, 1637 some of the old Portuguese settlers petitioned victorious Holland either to expel the Jews or, if this was not feasible, at least to restrict their activities and not to accord them more privileges than they possessed in Holland. Especially should they be forbidden to carry on retail trade since this is prohibited in the mother country. The usual calumny was heaped upon them. They were accused of sharp practice, trickery and frequent bankruptcy. Curiously enough the names of some of the signers may be taken for Jewish.⁹³ The petition was dated December 5, 1637, signed by Jacques Stack, Gasper Dias Ferera, Francisco de Brito, Pereyra, Guilhelme Duncar, Joao Caneiro de Mariz.⁹⁴ The signers speak of the Jews as being enemies of "Christ, our Savior." This indicated naturally that Ferera, Pereyra and the Brito who may be of Jewish racial origin were New Christians, loyal to the adopted creed.

Governor Johan Maurits convoked a meeting of the people at Recief, September 4, 1640. The representatives from the captaincy of Paraiba desired that

the Jews residing there, who came by vessels directly from Holland to the harbor of their city, now called Frederika, should be expelled.⁹⁵

⁹³ O. packet # 2 quotes F. A. Varnhagen, *Historia das lutas com os Hollandeses, no Brasil*, pp. 316-323, Lisbon, 1872.

⁹⁴ O. packet # 2 states that Southey, *supra*, states that Ferrera was the richest Jew in the province.

⁹⁵ O. packet # 1 quotes P. Souto Maior, *Fastos Pernambucos*, pp. 41-51, Rio de Janeiro, 1913 in *Rev. do Inst. Bras.*, lxxv, and Dr. Jose Hygino, *Actos da Assemblia general en 1640*, of the Revisto do Instituto, *supra*, xxxi.

It is interesting to speculate whether this demand for the expulsion of the Dutch Jews was prompted by the oppression of the Jewish taxfarmer or due to jealousy of Jewish sugar-mill owners in that captaincy. In any event the Council gave the demand short shrift.

The steady increase of the number of Jews as well as their remarkable adaptability to both wholesale and retail trade was a constant source of annoyance to the Christians. In 1641 sixty-six Christian merchants wrote a letter to the governor and Supreme Council of Brazil. They bemoaned their unfortunate position as they were given the leavings rejected by the despised Jews. They protested that in recent years shiploads of poor Jews had come to the colony and enriched themselves at the Christians' expense. Wealthy Jewish residents, controlling the sugartrade, give all the best positions to their newly arrived coreligionists. Everywhere else in the world

this cheating and dishonest race is compelled to wear distinguishing signs on their clothing to show their inferiority.

In Brazil the tables were turned. Israel was the favored nation while the followers of the true faith were forced into a subordinate place. They insisted that the Jews be barred from the practice of brokerage and retail trade.⁹⁰ Among the signatures is the name Daniel de Joode (the Jew)!

The governor was more impressed by this letter than by all the accusations of the clergy as he supported the petition of the merchants in a letter to the XIX.⁹¹

In spite of this his government was more tolerant than the council into whose hands the government fell after he left. As soon as he had gone increased restrictions of Jewish and Catholic liberties were enacted and enforced. Jews were not

⁹⁰ O. packets # 4 and 5 have a copy of this petition.

⁹¹ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, pp. 230-31.

allowed to build new synagogues, to marry Christians nor to have Christian mistresses. They could not exact more than 3% interest on brokerage.⁹⁸

The agitation caused by anti-Jewish sentiment in Brazil called for a petition, November 30, 1645 to the States General by the Jewish community in Amsterdam.⁹⁹ After investigation the States General decided to instruct the present and future Supreme Council to treat the Jews there as other Dutch nationals

good regard being taken of the loyalty and valor shown by the Jewish nation in Brazil.¹⁰⁰

A few months later some Christians complained about the liberties granted the Jews. We find that the Classis of Amsterdam in 1646 requested the XIX to heed the criticism made of the Jews in Brazil. A contrast between the comparative liberty of the Jews "a group in direct conflict with Christianity" and the oppression of the Catholics is implied.¹⁰¹ We know that monks had been driven out of the land.¹⁰²

Although anti-Jewish prejudice was rampant in Brazil there were reasons why the Jews generally fared better at the hand of the authorities than the Catholics. Jews were looked upon as enemies of Portugal while the Catholics, besides the difference in religion, were suspected of sympathizing with the enemy. The Protestants in Brazil occasionally made common cause with the Catholics against the Jews. In such cases the Jewish community had recourse to the government in Holland where their brethren exerted no small influence. For the most part, therefore, the Jews were more fortunate than the Catholics in Dutch Brazil. Their more advantageous

⁹⁸ O. packet # 1 quotes Barlaeus, *supra*, p. 394.

⁹⁹ O. packet # 8 has copy of this petition.

¹⁰⁰ O. packet # 8 quotes *Notulen* of the States General, November 30, 1645 and December 7, 1645 States General, Lias W. I. C. O. C., 1645, # 5774, *Rijksarchief*.

¹⁰¹ O. packet # 1 quotes "Ecclesiastical Records," *supra*, i, p. 195.

¹⁰² Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 135.

position made the Portuguese Catholics eager to throw off the yoke of a foreign power.

IV. THE PORTUGUESE REVOLT AND RECONQUEST.

In this section we shall consider the economic and religious causes leading to rebellion against the Dutch, the part played by the Jews in the discovery of treason, the diplomatic background of the revolt, conditions in Recife during the siege, Jewish martyrs, the Dutch government's efforts to foster a policy of toleration and the last stand of the Dutch in New Holland.

a) Reasons for the Rebellion and Jewish aid in discovering treason.

There were two chief ingredients in the ferment which incited rebellion against the Dutch. The Catholics chafed under the religious persecution of their Protestant masters. They knew that if the Portuguese reconquered the land, Catholic hegemony would be reestablished and Jewish privileges would be curtailed. Furthermore, the bad sugar harvests in the years 1642, 1643, and 1644 precipitated an economic crisis. The West India Company refused to realize that the colonists could not pay their installments of sugar because of poor crops.

The Jews, although economically as badly off as the other inhabitants, were eager to insure continued Dutch rule and its relatively tolerant government. They, therefore, did all in their power to check any anti-Dutch agitation which might undermine the company's prestige in the colony.

Some measure of the economic plight of the Jews is indicated by the fact that one of the most important of them, Jorgo Homen Pinto, who owned 370 slaves and 1000 oxen besides nine sugarmills, was not in a position to meet his financial obligations. His debts amounted to 937,977 guilders, 13 stuivers, of which he owed the West India Company about

700,000 guilders. In view of his economic importance in New Holland, the company, not wishing to cripple his financial operations and thereby to injure the colony, accepted his proposal to assume his debts. For the total amount of the debt which he owed the company and that which it assumed, he offered his sugarmills as collateral. The company was aware that it had heightened the seriousness of Pinto's financial embarrassment by selling him slaves on credit at exorbitant prices.¹⁰³

In a like manner the company found it advantageous to assume the debts of Manuel Fernando Cruz, another sugarmill owner, among whose creditors were many Jews. Besides his mills Joan de Mendosa and Manuel Gomes de Lisboa offered the company additional collateral for Cruz' debt.¹⁰⁴ The names of his Jewish creditors were :

	Guilders
Benjamin de Pina	10,600
Isaac da Costa	13,108
Joseph Abenacer	490
Abraham Aboaff	900
Symon de Vale (Jewishness uncertain)	325
Gaspar Francisco and David Brandao	1,133
Abraham de Touaer (Jewishness uncertain)	1,000
Joan Parente (Jewishness uncertain)	350
John de Mendonca de Moeribeca (Jewishness uncertain)	4,350
Jacob Gabay	1,050
More de Leon	600
Balthasar de Fonseca	600
Simon Gomes de Lisboa	5,910
Bartholomeus Rodrigues	900
Daniel Cardoza	210
	41,526

¹⁰³ O. packet # 3 quotes Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, pp. 209-210. In Appendix C Pinto's debt to the company is said to be 1,245,160 guilders.

¹⁰⁴ O. packet # 1 quotes Nieuhof, *supra*, pp. 43-51 and Pinkerton, *supra*, p. 738 ff.

Jorgo Homen Pinto and Manuel Fernando Cruz were not the only sugarmill owners assisted by the company. The total amount of the debts for which the company thus accepted responsibility amounted to 2,125,807 guilders. Had it not been for the ensuing revolt of the Portuguese the mill-owners would have been able to pay their sugar instalment and these financial arrangements would doubtless have been a success.¹⁰⁵

It is apparent from the above figures that Pinto's debt was nearly 50% of the total obligation of all the sugarmill owners to the company.¹⁰⁶ The sum of the indebtedness of all colonists due the company, December 31, 1645, comprised 22,370,167 guilders, 10 stuivers, 11 cents.¹⁰⁷ Many of the debtors have names which may be Jewish.

The large debt would seem to corroborate the impression conveyed by reports of that time that the rebellion against the Dutch was stimulated by the enormous indebtedness of the colonists to the company.¹⁰⁸ A contemporary informs us that many of the colonists made large purchases from the company in the expectation that Portugal would recapture Brazil and they would not have to pay their debts.¹⁰⁹

The West India Company allowed debtors to settle their accounts in kind but deducted 18% of the value of all deliveries and besides gave *ordonnances* which cost the debtors another 30%. This 48% charge on the payments of all debts was ruinous. Some Jews trafficked in *ordonnances* to their profit and were said to have shared their gains with the company.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ O. packet # 1 quotes J. Nieuhof, *supra*, p. 229.

¹⁰⁶ O. packet # 16 has a copy of a list of debtors to the West India Company. The MS. is in the archives of the W. I. C. O. C., # 62.

¹⁰⁷ Nieuhof, *supra*, p. 18 and 29.

¹⁰⁸ O. packet # 2 quotes *ibid.*, p. 229.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹¹⁰ O. packet # 2 quotes Jean le Clerc, *Negociations secrètes touchant la Paix de Munster, et d'Osnaburg on recueil general, etc.*, under the chapter heading: *Extrait et Copie de plusieurs lettres et écrits*

Prescience of Portuguese rebellion is evidenced December 13, 1642 by Joao Fernando Vieira, *Schepen* or Alderman of Mauricia, in his attempt to vindicate himself and his relatives of treasonous communication with the king of Portugal.¹¹¹ A Jew, Abraham Tapper, told Antonio de Oliveira that he had knowledge of a communication from Joao Fernando Vieira, Cosmo de Crasto, Joao Pessca and Antonio and Manuel Gavalgantij to the king of Portugal. This letter was conveyed by the son of Francisca Beringel da Andrada. Tapper also knew that a priest of the order of St. Bento was sent to Portugal in 1642 by the aforementioned persons. It was said that the cleric's mission was to offer the king the services of the Portuguese inhabitants and to ask for support to the end that Brazil might once more be under Portuguese rule. Antonio de Oliveira told Vieira what Tapper had communicated to him. Vieira, wishing to appear loyal in the eyes of the Council, took the part of the aggrieved and complained to the authorities. Tapper was reprimanded for his pains and told not to be suspicious of the company's faithful servants.¹¹²

In spite of the council's remonstrance Tapper's accusation proved correct as three years later Vieira was one of the most important leaders of the rebellion.

That the Jews were the first to know of the seditious negotiations is some indication of their constant contact with Amsterdam. Probably Dutch Jews got the information from Marranos in Portugal and relayed the intelligence to friends in Brazil, who were quick to convey every whisper of treason to the government.

Jewish taxfarmers in the interior of New Holland were in a favorable position to feel the pulse of the country. Two

concernant la Rebellion des Portugais unis dans le Brésil avec la Hollande, p. 575-577.

¹¹¹ Nieuhof, *supra*, p. 54.

¹¹² O. packet # 14. This data was included in the data concerning a bribery investigation.

years after the first Vieira incident Jews again warned the government of Portuguese incitement against the Dutch.¹¹³ A letter, signed *Plus Ultra*, informed the Supreme Council that Portuguese troops had come to Paraiba with the object of inducing the inhabitants to join them in their revolt and take the Dutch forts by surprise.¹¹⁴ Three persons, desiring to remain unknown, advised the Supreme Council to capture the wellknown Joao Fernando Vieira. These three persons were probably Gaspar Francisco da Costa (or daKunha) and his two associates. June 30, 1646, these people testified that, contrary to rumor, the Supreme Council had not ill treated them when they submitted their information but had asked them to try to obtain additional data.¹¹⁵ It would seem that the rumors of ill treatment were erroneously connected with the three elders instead of with Tapper. The council decided to employ the broker Koin (Abraham Cohen) to aid in the capture of the traitor.¹¹⁶

Vieira wrote a letter signed by him and Antonio Kavalanti, Joan Pessoa, Manuel Kavalkanti, Antonio Bezerra and Kosmo de Krasto Pasos. The letter said that the Jews accused them of being traitors for a long time. This had done them much harm. Once more the Jews had told them that they would be deprived of their property which would be given to the Dutch. The signers asked for five days' time in which to justify themselves. If this respite were not granted them they would not be responsible for the consequences.¹¹⁷

In truth Vieira was the very heart of the rebellion. He tried to lure Dutch officials to his estate on the pretext of a

¹¹³ O. packets # 1 and 4 have copy of a document, dated October 13, 1644. *Secrete Notulen* of Brazil, W. I. C. O. C., # 76, also cited in Nieuhof, *supra*, p. 56-57, who mentions that the Jews were Gaspar Francisco daKunha and two other elders.

¹¹⁴ Nieuhof, *supra*, pp. 67-68, and 72-78.

¹¹⁵ Nieuhof, *supra*, p. 230, mentions that it was Gaspar Francisco da Costa who was said to have been treated in this way.

¹¹⁶ O. packet # 1 quotes Nieuhof, *supra*, p. 69.

¹¹⁷ Nieuhof, *supra*, p. 80. The letter was received June 22, 1645.

celebration. His plan was to murder them there. The Supreme Council got wind of the plot in time.¹¹⁸ Henceforth, June 24, 1645, Vieira was the open enemy of the Dutch and one of the leaders of the guerilla warfare. From that time on there were definite indications that Portuguese leaders incited the people against the Dutch authorities.

The old Portuguese settlers who wavered in their allegiance to the Dutch were drawn to the possibility of Portuguese rule, hoping that it might, in some way, mitigate their dire financial condition. In any case it would free them from Calvinist bigotry. Some of them insisted that they did not desire to live in regions inhabited by Netherlanders or Jews.¹¹⁹ The governor of Bahia blamed the Jews for the estrangement between the Portuguese and Dutch inhabitants of the country.¹²⁰

Most of the Jews rallied to the Dutch and supported them with money and council.¹²¹ July 8, 1645, Sebastiao Carvalho, Jorgo Homen Pinto and others complained to the bishop of Bahia that Vieira destroyed everything in his track.

The Hollanders have always been good masters and we still owe them allegiance.¹²²

In spite of this professed admiration for the Dutch, a few, Jorgo Homen Pinto among them, joined the Portuguese forces,¹²³ either from fear of the Inquisition in the event of Portuguese victory or because of a proclamation issued by Vieira assuring foreigners and Jews the same privileges as they enjoyed under Dutch rule and absolving them of their debts to the Dutch. A salary equal to that paid by the Dutch West India Company was promised them.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Montanus, *supra*, p. 314.

¹¹⁹ O. packet # 1 quotes *Bijdragen*, *supra*, vol. iii, p. 384.

¹²⁰ O. packet # 1 quotes Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 235.

¹²¹ O. packet # 3 quotes Raphael de Jesus, *supra*, p. 210.

¹²² Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 141.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹²⁴ O. packet # 3 quotes Raphael de Jesus, *supra*, p. 186 ff.

b) *Diplomatic and Military Activities prior to the surrender of Recife.*

The West India Company had done its best to ignore the plight of New Holland. At last it was forced to recognize the situation.

The Portuguese ambassador in The Hague, Francisco de Sousa Coutinho, for a time successfully deceived the Dutch government and the West India Company. Because Portugal and Holland had been allies since 1640 (when Portugal freed itself from Spain) he represented his sovereign John IV of Braganza as being displeased with the insubordination of the Portuguese in Brazil. He insisted that Portugal would in no way support the rebels. When, in 1645, the news reached Holland that troops from Bahia had been sent to aid the Portuguese in New Holland, Coutinho protested that the troops had been sent to help the Dutch quell the insurrection. He once more assured the government that the king would let no act of sedition against his Dutch allies go unpunished.

Meanwhile the diplomat was counselling his sovereign to aid the rebels in the hope that New Holland would be retaken by Portugal before his Janus-tactics were discovered.

The Portuguese monarch was in a difficult position. He could not dispense with Dutch aid in maintaining his freedom from the common enemy, Spain. Nevertheless his heart was with his rebellious countrymen in Brazil.¹²⁵ Besides, New Holland was not to be sneered at as a colonial acquisition. The time was ripe for the reconquest of the region, what with the discontent of the colonists, the unstable economic condition in the colony and the withdrawal of the only real leader in Dutch Brazil, Count Johan Maurits.

The reconquest of New Holland took much longer than Coutinho had calculated. Conditions there were such that his policy of duplicity became apparent to every one. Bitter-

¹²⁵ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 153.

ness of feeling against Portugal ran high in Holland. The ambassador's position was so precarious that he was called home.

Since it was found that John IV was in league with the rebels the Dutch government could no longer dismiss the matter as merely an affair of the West India Company. Although it still recognized Brazil as the company's property it was forced to take cognizance of Portugal's breach of faith.

A new fleet, which arrived in Recife December, 1647, was manned with government-paid troops. These Dutch warships succeeded in capturing several Portuguese vessels, one of which carried a Portuguese general with letters on his person purporting to contain instructions from the king of Portugal that the Portuguese in Brazil should cease hostilities with the Dutch. Upon investigation it was discovered that this was a hoax. The true contents of the letters revealed that the king was encouraging the rebellion.¹²⁶

Meanwhile the peace of Westphalia had been concluded in 1648. While the Dutch were negotiating the treaty with the Portuguese ambassador the Jews of Amsterdam petitioned the government to provide for the rights of the Jews who were Dutch subjects

whether or not they had been born in Spain, Portugal or their possessions.

It was decided that such provisos be included in the treaty.¹²⁷ The peace of Westphalia emphasized the king of Portugal's

¹²⁶ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 158.

¹²⁷ O. packet # 2 quotes printed "Resolution of Holland," *supra*, September 15, 1648, p. 690; September 22, 1648, p. 709; September 29, 1648, p. 723; October 14, 1648, p. 761. For further activities of the Dutch Jews regarding the treaty see Koenen, *supra*, p. 154; J. Hartog, *Eene bladzijde uit de Geschiedenis der Joden in ons Vaderland*; M. Wolff, *De Eerste Vestiging der Joden in Amsterdam, hun politieke en economische toestand, Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis Oudheidkunde iv*, R. ix, 1910, p. 365; J. S. da Silva Rosa, *supra*, p. 84, *inter alia*.

ambiguous position as a professed ally of Holland with some Portuguese possessions at war with that country. To straighten matters out he attempted to buy New Holland from the West India Company. The company exacted 300,000 cruzados as indemnity, besides possession of the colony. The king was disposed to bargain but his people convinced him not to make terms with the Dutch.¹²⁸

Article X of a resolution of Holland, December 10, 1648, evidently proposed when the negotiations with the king were in progress, read:

All prisoners, on both sides, of whatever condition or religion they may be [including Jews] on either side of the equinoctial line, shall be released and set free without ransom and after ratification of this agreement a general amnesty shall be published, pleading that all acts of enmity on either side both by inhabitants and subjects of Brazil and the subjects of the king of Portugal shall be consigned to eternal oblivion without including therein Diedrick van Hoogstraaten, [one of the Dutch officers who surrendered one of the most important forts to the enemy.]¹²⁹

When negotiations with Holland had failed, the king took a leaf from Dutch commercial policy and summoned rich Portuguese merchants for the purpose of forming a trading company with concessions in Brazil. The new company sent from 30 to 40 ships with supplies and reinforcements there, November 4, 1649.¹³⁰ The Dutch government recognized this move as an official act of war and forthwith issued an order to the East and West India Companies to capture Portuguese vessels.¹³¹

The West India Company evidently made a mistake in the case of a Dutch ship which they mistook for a Portuguese

¹²⁸ O. packet # 2 quotes the printed "Resolution of Holland," *supra*.

¹²⁹ See p. 83.

¹³⁰ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 168.

¹³¹ *Ibid*;

Netscher, *supra*, p. 159.

vessel. The owner was Ferdinand Dias de Brito, Portuguese Jew and Dutch subject, who petitioned the government to intercede with the West India Company for the restoration of his boat.¹³²

Portugal, anxious to avert open war, again attempted to make terms with the Dutch. It offered to pay 3,000,000 cruzados for New Holland. The Dutch were to retain certain trading privileges in the region. The ambassador was told that all Portuguese would be treated as enemies. In spite of these hostilities open war was not waged because in 1651 the English Navigation Act was passed and Holland directed all her energies toward the imminent Anglo-Dutch naval conflict. By the end of 1651 two Dutch warships, which were protecting Recief, were ordered home. A few months later English vessels captured several ships of the Dutch Brazilian fleet. This immeasurably weakened the position of New Holland.¹³³

When Holland realized that an English war was inevitable she sent emissaries to negotiate with Portugal but the Portuguese were no longer intimidated by Holland. To prove this Portugal sent sixty ships to Recief with orders not to fight but to maneuver.¹³⁴ In truth, the fleet made common cause with the Portuguese land forces and by the end of January, Recief, the backbone of New Holland, surrendered.

c) *The Siege of Recief.*

Telles da Silva, Portuguese governor in Bahia, had pursued the same ambiguous policy as the ambassador to Holland. Until the rebellion was openly declared in 1645 his anti-Dutch operations were carried on secretly. He, in league with

¹³² O. packet # 2 quotes printed "Resolution," *supra*, dated July 14, 1651, p. 376.

¹³³ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 170.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

his sovereign, supplied two regiments who defeated the Dutch in the open field. Recief itself was surrounded. The Hollanders were only able to maintain the fortified places on the coast. Inland efforts against the Portuguese were futile, especially because some of the Dutch officers sold Dutch strongholds to the enemy. Until the last year of the siege of Recief the Dutch Brazilian fleet was still strong enough to protect the coast cities from the sea. It thwarted several Portuguese naval attacks.

André Vidal, the head of the Portuguese military operations, was less interested in the capture of Recief than in the taking of Cape San Augustin as a Portuguese naval base.¹³⁵ He achieved his purpose by bribing a Dutch officer, Diedrick van Hoogstraten, who yielded the fort without a struggle.¹³⁶ For strategic reasons the Dutch destroyed Mauricia,¹³⁷ and crowded its inhabitants into Recief. Recief also received the residents of Olinda when that city was threatened by Vidal. Many Jews were among these fugitives as the outworks of Olinda had been maintained by them.¹³⁸

In over-populated Recief all was not harmonious between Jews and Hollanders. The Jews claimed that through the treason of some Dutch officers the country had been sold to the enemy.¹³⁹

Some of the Dutch were suspicious of Jewish treason. A current pamphlet stated that forty Jews sailed away from Brazil.¹⁴⁰ After mentioning the departure of the Jews the

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145.

¹³⁷ O. packet # 1 quotes *Journal ofte Kort Discours*, *supra*; *Revista*, *supra*, and Moreau, *supra*.

¹³⁸ O. packet # 1, quotes Ogilby, *supra*, p. 506 and Montanus, *supra*, p. 327.

¹³⁹ O. packet # 1 quotes a letter, September 16, 1645, of Caspar da Costa d'Abreu to his friend Domingo da Costa of Bahia; Nieuhof, *supra*, p. 129.

¹⁴⁰ O. packet # 2 quotes *Journal ofte Kort Discours*, *supra*, p. D. 3, November 13, 1645.

writer remarked, "What their design is time will tell." In the same document it was stated that November 21, 1645, the Jews were still waiting "for a good wind in order to carry out their intended design." This pamphlet contained another item concerning the disloyalty of a Jew, Manuel da Costa, and his wife, who went over to the enemy June 16, 1646.

Many people, Jews and Christians, left the beleaguered city through fear. In a letter from H. Doedens of Amsterdam to the West India Company, February 7, 1646, we read:

A ship from Brazil has been wrecked near the island of Wight. It carried 148 people, mostly Jews; only 28 people have been saved.¹⁴¹

The following Jews left with the permission of the Supreme Council:

Isaac d'Aguilar

David Rodrigues

Abraham Jacob Rodrigues with his wife named, Sarafine, a daughter named Hester, with two more small children, see Abraham Ferera.

Joseph Abenaca, "Jew."

Jacob Serrana, "Jew."

Jacob Jacobs, "Jew."

Abraham Ferera, see Israel Rodrigues with his wife named Hester, his sister, Rachel Dias, and a negress called Catarina.

Abraham Rodondo.

They embarked on the Ship *Zeelandia*, January 4, 1646. According to the passenger list¹⁴² the six men paid 63 guilders each and the two families 252 guilders each.

There are two conflicting reports as to the economic condition of the Jews in Recife during the siege. The extent of the agony due to the prolonged siege is vividly depicted by contemporaries.¹⁴³ Rabbi Aboab, an eye-witness of the horrors, wrote a poem describing them.¹⁴⁴ Moses Navarro, con-

¹⁴¹ O. packet # 1, quotes *Kroniek*, *supra*, 1869, p. 418.

¹⁴² O. packet # 5, list is in Archive W. I. C. O. C., # 61, *Rijksarchief*.

¹⁴³ O. packet # 3 quotes Raphael de Jesus, *supra*, pp. 459-475.

¹⁴⁴ The MS. is to be found in the Livraria Montezinos, Amsterdam; see also M. Kayserling "Isaac Aboab, the first Jewish Author in America," *Publications*, *supra*, No. 5, p. 125 ff.

tractor of the "balance," complained that he could not make his monthly payments to the government because of the war. He mentioned the extreme poverty among the Jews and that respectable persons had resigned themselves to live on charity and were therefore unable to pay their debts to the company.¹⁴⁵ We find that Gaspar Nuys and Jacob Franson, Jewish merchants, requested three months' freedom from debtors' prison. They were granted this liberty with the consent of their creditors because of the abnormal conditions.¹⁴⁶

That some had resources which they did not yield without a struggle is indicated by the fact that several of them who refused to deliver oil and wine for the use of the company were forced to do so. The guilty ones are:

	Cans of oil	Cans of wine
Moses de Lion	1800	1400
Jacob Carillo	1200	800
Jacob Navarro	300	1000
Jacob Valverde	500	200
Solomon Mosafia	200	2800
Andries Heim		3000
Isaac da Costa		3000
Jacob Drago		1000
Jeronimo de Hano Gebraude		1000

At the same time the company bought of Moses d'Oliveira 2800 yards of linen for 10 stuivers a yard, payable in cash.¹⁴⁷

Conditions grew increasingly worse in Recife. The city was overcrowded. Food had never been abundant and the surrounding country had never yielded sufficient produce to satisfy completely the inhabitants. Even under normal condi-

¹⁴⁵ O. packet # 5 quotes *Notulen* of Brazil, October 4, 1645.

O. packet # 3 quotes Raphael de Jesus, *supra*, p. 475 contradicting this statement, saying that the Jews were wealthy.

¹⁴⁶ O. packet # 5, *Notulen* of Brazil, W. I. C. O. C., # 71, the date is given as 1646.

¹⁴⁷ O. packet # 5, *Notulen* of Brazil, W. I. C. O. C., # 71.

tions the people depended partly upon the foodstuff imported from the mother country. All supplies were cut off by land and the hoped-for ships were long in coming.

June 1, 1646 the inhabitants received a message from the enemy demanding surrender in three days. If this condition was refused all would be annihilated; if the terms were accepted the Dutch would be spared and the Jews would receive quarter upon acceptance of Christianity.¹⁴⁸ Rumors of surrender, June 16, became prevalent. The thought of capitulation met with violent protest and none were opposed to it more than the Jews who realized that if they fell into Portuguese hands they would be burned at the stake. They determined to die sword in hand and to sell their lives dearly.¹⁴⁹ It is said that at that time they collected from among themselves a large gift which they gave the Supreme Council in the hope that this sum would enable that body to hold the city for some time longer.¹⁵⁰

This fact is confirmed by four Dutch fugitives who informed the enemy that the Dutch would have surrendered Recife before April, 1646 if it had not been for the Jews who supplied money to carry on the war.¹⁵¹

There were rumors abroad that in the ports of Holland a large fleet was being prepared in which the States General and the West India Company were interested and that the Jews were making a last effort to subdue once for all the campaign of those who had risen in the captaincies.¹⁵²

At that time Amsterdam Jews informed the Dutch government that Count Gaspar Dias Ferera,¹⁵³ a rich Portuguese

¹⁴⁸ See also H. Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 237.

¹⁴⁹ O. packet # 1 quotes Ogilby, *supra*, p. 584; Nieuhof, *supra*, p. 175.

¹⁵⁰ O. packet # 3 quotes Raphael de Jesus, *supra*, p. 459 ff.

¹⁵¹ O. packet # 3 quotes Calado, *supra*, p. 329.

¹⁵² O. packet # 3 quotes Raphael de Jesus, *supra*, p. 475 ff.

¹⁵³ O. packet # 6 has copies of documents dated February 2, 3, and March 7, 1646. Resolution States General, # 3228.

inhabitant who had earned much through the company, had communicated information detrimental to the Dutch to Seville.¹⁵⁴

So great was the suffering in Recief, however, that rich and poor alike could not obtain food. The burghers had to forego their bread because the Supreme Council allotted the remaining flour to the garrison lest the soldiers' threat of desertion be carried out. June 21, 1646 the Supreme Council, in desperation, wrote the company asking when the long-promised ships would arrive.¹⁵⁵

The day after this communication was written the *Falcon* and the *Elizabeth* entered the harbor of Recief bringing relief to the sorely tried city.¹⁵⁶ The rest of the Dutch fleet, comprising a force of 2,000 men among whom were five newly appointed members of the Supreme Council, gradually reached its destination. This reenforcement of men and supplies encouraged the besieged. A Portuguese writer related:

The States General came to its [Recief's] aid with their best vessels, the company with its best people and the Jews with the greatest gifts.¹⁵⁷

The Dutch were still harassed landward. It must not be imagined that they were the only sufferers. Food was also at a premium in the enemy's camp. Both armies were weary of the combat. For a time the fighting around Recief was at a standstill. The Dutch and then the Portuguese conceded pardon and freedom of religion to those who would join their cause. The Dutch granted pardon to all but the treasonous officers.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ L. Aitzema, *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh, in, ende, omtrent de vereenigde Nederlanden*, iii, p. 86, 's Graven-Haghe, 1669-72.

¹⁵⁵ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 149.

¹⁵⁶ O. packet # 1 quotes Nieuhof, *supra*, pp. 175-176.

¹⁵⁷ O. packet # 3 quotes Raphael de Jesus, *supra*, p. 475ff.

¹⁵⁸ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 155.

d) *Jewish Rights stressed by the Dutch Government.*

Awake to the dangers of their position in Brazil the West India Company did all in its power to prevent desertion to the enemy. A few months after the Portuguese laid siege to Recief the company issued a proclamation, approved by the States General, to the effect that the religious freedom, originally accorded to all, August 23, 1636, should be maintained. This meant that the Catholic persecution, inaugurated after Count Johan Maurits' departure, was to be stopped. No specific mention was made of the Jews in the instructions of November 6, 1646.¹⁵⁹ Upon the promulgation of this decree the Portuguese governor followed suit.¹⁶⁰

The relief ships landing in Recief in 1646 brought with them a new Supreme Council which the company hoped would adjust matters. One of its first duties was to investigate problems of religious discrimination. When the Amsterdam church synod again demanded restriction of Jewish liberties the Supreme Council held to the position that no differences should be made between Catholics, Protestants and Israelites in New Holland. The Jews had been guaranteed freedom of religious worship and thus the matter must remain.¹⁶¹

During the years that New Holland was harassed by the Portuguese the Recief government made every effort to appease the various factions in the colony. When in 1653 it sent representatives to Holland to submit a report of the dire conditions in New Holland the Jew, Abraham d'Assevedo, was asked to represent Brazilian Jewish interests. He was probably sent in the hope of soliciting more aid from the

¹⁵⁹ O. packet # 1 quotes *Groot Placaet.. Boek.. de Staten General*, *supra*, ii, pp. 1263, 1268.

¹⁶⁰ O. packet # 1 quotes *Extract ende copye van verscheyde breven en schriften belangende de rebellie de Paepsche Portuguese in Brasilien*, 1646.

¹⁶¹ O. packet # 1 quotes Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 237.

Amsterdam Jews who might exert additional influence upon the government. Among other things he and his Christian colleagues, Heussen and Hamel, requested that

the Jews there [in Brazill] be not treated otherwise than according to the charter of their High Mightinesses, of December 7, 1645.¹⁶²

However, d'Assevedo discovered that his associates, unknown to him, petitioned the West India Company to limit the rights and privileges of the Jews, especially with reference to carrying on retail trade and the plying of handicrafts. It is striking that even under the pressure of the critical situation the Christian Brazilian representatives took the trouble to undermine Jewish prestige. This may indicate something of the importance of Jewish competition in New Holland. But d'Assevedo petitioned the company that the request was made unknown to him and asked that it should not be considered, since such curtailments of Jewish rights would hamper business in Brazil and would prevent other Jews from going there or induce those Jews already there to leave. For the welfare of both the country and the company d'Assevedo pointed out that it was important to adopt measures to increase the population of the colony rather than to diminish it by imposing restriction on the colonists. The petitioner respectfully called the attention of the company to the fact that many Jews had fought valiantly in the colony and had suffered much loss of life and property. He further remarked that Jewish aid had prevented the remainder of the country from being surrendered to the enemy and that no Jew had deserted to the foe.¹⁶³

The Amsterdam community filed a special petition to the XIX supporting d'Assevedo's request and asking them not

¹⁶² O. packet # 1 quotes *Notulen* of the XIX, September 9, 1653, abstract in handwriting of Hans Bontemantel who was Burgomaster of Amsterdam about that time. The *Notulen* are to be found in the Dutch West India Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁶³ This is not true according to others.

to heed the notice which Heussen and Hamel were presenting at the behest of the government of Recief.

When information of the proceedings in Amsterdam reached the Jewish congregation in Recief the *Parnassim* of the community asked the Brazilian government whether it was responsible for the action of Hamel and Heussen. The government replied that it had not given its two Christian representatives instructions detrimental to the Jews.¹⁶⁴ We do not know when d'Assevedo returned to Brazil but in 1659 we find a notice of a reward of 175 guilders paid by the West India Company to him for damages he had suffered and services rendered in the past and still being rendered in Brazil.¹⁶⁵

e) *Jewish Martyrs.*

Those Jews who refused to side with the Portuguese and who, through the misfortunes of the war, fell into their hands, were most brutally tortured. The unspeakable treatment of

¹⁶⁴ O. packet # 6 has copies of the following petitions: d'Assevedo's application to the West India Company for the relief of the Jews in Brazil, Archive W. I. C. O. C., # 3, fol. 1720, etc., dated September 20, 1653; a document dated The Hague, September 26, 1653 "Reason in brief why those of the Jewish Nation who until now sojourned in Brazil as well as those who may wish to settle there, may be duly permitted to enjoy the same liberties as all other inhabitants in duty bound to the Chartered West India Company." In the same packet is the letter from the Jewish Nation of Amsterdam, signed Mosseh del Guede, Implidilon Rivo, Dr. Ephraim Joseph buone livas, Abraham Abazle, Jacob de lievere, and Jacob Bellem. The request of the Jewish Community in Brazil is to be found in the *Notulen* of Brazil, *Archive Hof van Holland*, # 5252.

¹⁶⁵ O. packet # 1 copies *Notulen* of the XIX in Dutch West India Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Probably one of his relatives, David Salom d'Assevedo, borrowed 10,000 guilders in Recief from Juan de la Faya on October 21, 1661—*Not. Archieven*, Amsterdam, Register Notary Padthuysen MS. # 2890, of which a photostat is in my possession.

Jewish prisoners of war gave rise to a formal communication between the contending parties containing the following significant sentence:

Why are Jewish prisoners of war martyred unto death in so beastly a manner. Are they worse people than we?¹⁹⁶

Three Jews were taken from a Dutch ship by the Portuguese. Two of them had been baptized in Lisbon and later circumcized in Amsterdam. They had come to Pernambuco for business. Their Portuguese captors called them "blasphemous apostates" and condemned them to death. The third member of the party who was not baptized in Lisbon was freed because he promised to become a Christian, but he escaped to Recife.¹⁹⁷

The motive for this special ferocity towards Jewish prisoners was by no means purely religious prejudice. It was evident that many Jews gave valuable information to the Dutch as already indicated.

When in October, 1645 the Portuguese took the territory of Rio San Francisco they made an agreement with the soldiers and citizens but did not consider that this agreement applied to Jewish inhabitants of the regions, whereupon the States General instructed the Supreme Council to interfere on behalf of the Jews.¹⁹⁸ February 22, 1646, an eye-witness of the surrender of Rio San Francisco who was in Holland at that time, confirmed the fact that Jews were separated from other prisoners of war.¹⁹⁹ On the same date Amsterdam Jewry

¹⁹⁶ O. packet # 5 has a copy of the letter dated August 31, 1645, written by the Supreme Council to André Vidal, *Notulen* of Brazil, October 4, 1645, W. I. C. O. C., # 60, also quoted by Waetjen, *Brasilien, supra*, p. 235. In O.'s copy the following Jews are named: Moses Mendes and Isaac Rusten.

¹⁹⁷ O. packet # 3 quotes Raphael de Jesus, *supra*, p. 385.

¹⁹⁸ See Appendix B.

¹⁹⁹ O. packet # 10 copies a letter, dated February 22, 1646, States General, # 5774.

petitioned the Government concerning these captive Jews.¹⁷⁰ Five days later the general Jewish nation residing in Amsterdam again petitioned the States General stating that Jews were separated from Christians and that eight persons "inhabitants of Amsterdam who had gone thither for trading purposes" were placed in the Castle of Bahia and were treated very miserably. When some people (among them a captain Cohen(?)) objected to the way the Jews were treated the governor of Bahia answered them that

the Jews were responsible for the fact that the whole of Brazil had not sided with them [the Portuguese].¹⁷¹

The same day, February 27, the States General decided to write to the Supreme Council asking it to do its utmost to secure the equal treatment of Jews and Christians, captive in Bahia.¹⁷²

The Jewish community's intercession was probably in connection with a letter from the Supreme Council to the West India Company, Chamber of Zeeland, referring to the Jewish captives, three of whom, David Salom, Samuel Israel and Isaac Corvelho, were born in Holland; three in Portugal, Abraham Bueno, Samuel Velho, Abraham Mendes; and four in Germany and Poland, Judah bar Jacob from Poland, David Michael, Solomon ben Jacob and Isaac Johannis de la Manha from Germany.¹⁷³ The Supreme Council wrote:

Your Honors can best learn from the few people who arrive in Portugal from Bahia what horrible procedures have been instituted against our nation. Besides our Jewish inhabitants who have suffered nearly a thousand misfortunes in Portugal must still be subject to the trial of the Inquisition there from which there is no escape for them unless your Noble Honors provide against such acts. Wherefore

¹⁷⁰ O. packet # 10 copies this petition which is in Archive States General, # 5774.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, # 3228; see Appendix B.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

we have been requested to bring this matter before your Noble Honors as diverse members of their nation have been slaughtered on falling into the hands of the enemy.¹⁷⁴

After negotiations between the Dutch government, the ambassador of Portugal and some direct communications with the Portuguese sovereign, seven of the prisoners were freed but the three Portuguese Jews, born in Lisbon, were surrendered to the Inquisition.¹⁷⁵

Isaac de Castro, another Jewish captive, had come to New Holland from Amsterdam. He was seized by the Portuguese and also sent from Bahia to Lisbon to be submitted to the Inquisition. He refused to abjure his faith and was "burned at the stake and reduced to ashes," December 21, 1647 in the presence of the three other Jewish captives.¹⁷⁶

The States General once more communicated with the king of Portugal regarding four Jewish captives who were also sent from Brazil to the Inquisition in Lisbon. Two of the four, in the hope of possible rescue, plunged into the sea and were drowned, the other two, Samuel Nahamias and Aaron Noveno, were submitted to the rigor of the Inquisition. Both Nahamias and Noveno were offspring of parents who had resided in Amsterdam for more than 50 years.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ O. packet # 8 quotes this communication, December 10, 1645.

¹⁷⁵ O. packet # 10 quotes an answer from the king of Portugal concerning this dated December 7, 1646, Archive States General, # 7017; another petition of the Jewish congregation Amsterdam in Archive States General, # 5775; another resolution to write the king again, dated May 14, 1647, Register *uitgaande Missieven*, Archive States General, # 3603.

¹⁷⁶ O. packet # 10 has copy of a petition of Amsterdam Jewry concerning de Castro from Archive States General, # 7017; Kohut "Martyrs of the Inquisition in South American," *Publications, supra*, No. 4, p. 129ff.

¹⁷⁷ O. packet # 10 copies a letter to the king of Portugal, dated January 28, 1649 in Register *uitgaande Missieven*, Archive States General, # 3605.

As late as August 31, 1649 we find correspondence concerning the three captives born in Lisbon, Bueno, Velho and Mendes.¹⁷⁸ The fate of the five prisoners is not known.

f) *The Fall of Recief.*

The relief brought to Recief in June, 1646 was of short duration. Besides attempting to adjust questions of religious intolerance the new Supreme Council was anxious to disentangle the company's involved finances. The new governing body conducted an investigation of bribery charges directed against certain members of the old Supreme Council, especially Bulstrate and Hamel. Some brokers, most of whom were Jews—Elias Burgos, Moizes, Aaron and Jacob Navarro, Abraham Aboaff, David Jeseron, Abraham Cohen and others—had tried to bribe these members in return for favors to their clients, among whom were Jorgo Homen Pinto, Luiz Guimmarais, Balthasar de Fonsequa, Abraham Tapper and others.¹⁷⁹

The Supreme Council, however, had little time for the concerns of peace. At the turn of 1646 the Portuguese became more active. They began to invest the entire region around Recief. At this time the Jews were said to have discovered another treasonous plot against the Dutch.¹⁸⁰ The guerilla warfare once more became acute. At the beginning of 1647 the Dutch suffered a serious defeat in an attempt to cut off the Portuguese supplies from their base at Bahia. But the Dutch Brazilian fleet was still strong¹⁸¹ for, at about the same time, it took the island Itaparica, south of Bahia. This victory hindered Portuguese shipping to and from there. The newly acquired territory did not remain long in Dutch hands.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ O. packet # 10 quotes Resolution of Holland printed, *supra*, old p. 231, new p. 254.

¹⁷⁹ O. packet # 14 quotes Archive W. I. C. O. C., # 62.

¹⁸⁰ O. packet # 1 quotes Nieuhof, *supra*, p. 192.

¹⁸¹ Montanus, *supra*, p. 327.

¹⁸² Waetjen, *Brasilien*, p. 161.

It had to be abandoned due to lack of food and munition. In the North the Tapuya Indians, who had formerly helped the Dutch, joined the Portuguese because a Dutch officer had killed their favorite Jacob Rabbi, a Dutch agent of German birth.¹⁸³

Conditions in Recief became desperate as the company sent very few provisions. The Jews in Amsterdam tried to relieve the situation by equipping a provision ship for their coreligionists in Brazil.¹⁸⁴

The Dutch authorities realized that as long as Recief was well protected by ships the city would not be forced to surrender, no matter how strong the enemy attacked by land. March 18, 1648 some Government ships arrived in Recief with supplies. In spite of this relief food remained scarce. April 22, 1648 Dutch troops launched an attack in order to give the city some surcease by distracting the attention of the enemy. The Dutch were badly defeated. Due to the shortage of food the Dutch Brazilian fleet was crippled. About the same time the Portuguese recaptured some of the company's African possessions Angola and the island of St. Thomas.¹⁸⁵

A final offensive was launched in February, 1649 with fatal results for the Dutch.¹⁸⁶ Their losses were so severe and the battle was so intense that they asked for a temporary truce to bury the dead. "A rich Jew, Moses Navarro, " was among those who acted as interpreter in negotiating for the truce.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 157-162. Waetjen calls Jacob Rabbi a German Jew, which O. packet # 1 denies, remarking that the name Rabbi is no proof of Jewishness. Waetjen cites Fabius, p. 39. Nieuhof, *supra*, pp. 164 and 168 mentions Rabbi without calling him a Jew.

¹⁸⁴ O. packet # 2 quotes a letter from H. Dodens of Amsterdam, dated July 19, 1647, in *Kroniek*, *supra*, 1869, p. 470. In the same letter the writer mentions that he is enclosing some information that the Jews have received from Madrid. Unfortunately the contents of the enclosure is not given.

¹⁸⁵ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 163.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 165; Netscher, *supra*, p. 159.

¹⁸⁷ O. packet # 3 quotes Raphael de Jesus, *supra*, p. 236.

It is wellknown that the Jews in Brazil displayed great courage during the final stand of the Dutch.¹⁸⁸ With all this, prejudice against them ran high. The wealth which they had acquired in Brazil was resented. Their loyalty to the Dutch was questioned but their detractors had to admit grudgingly that they did provide the government with money.¹⁸⁹

By 1653 all hope was lost and all thought of help vanished as the Dutch Brazilian fleet diminished. Because the situation was so dire the coveted Brazilian dyewood could not be sold at auction in Recief. The government was much in need of money, and, therefore, the Jewish broker Abraham Cohen decided to buy the wood for his clients Fernando Martins da Silva, Luis Dias and Captain Gerrits.¹⁹⁰

As the Recief government felt that it needed help in its narrow straits, since the Portuguese fleet was cooperating with the landforces and some Dutch forts had already surrendered,¹⁹¹ it elected two members, Aaron de Pina and Jacob Navarro from the Jewish nation, and one member from each of the other groups, to deliberate on the situation. Since the Dutch soldiers were very unruly, some of the more timid counselled surrender but it was decided to oppose the enemy to the last.¹⁹²

Abraham Cohen overheard soldiers discussing their unwillingness to fight and their readiness to sack the house of the

¹⁸⁸ O. packet # 1 quotes Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 236.

¹⁸⁹ O. packet # 1 found the original of a letter to that effect in the MS. division of the New York Public Library, in Brazil papers, Dutch, in folder marked Cat. 123, p. 3. The letter is from Johan Raesvelt, member of the Supreme Council of Justice at Recief, to Constantijn Huijgens, secretary of the Prince of Orange, dated April 20, 1649.

¹⁹⁰ O. packet # 6 quotes *Notulen* of Brazil, December 5, 1653, *Hof van Holland*, # 5252.

¹⁹¹ Waetjen, *Brasilien*, *supra*, p. 170.

¹⁹² O. packet # 10 has copy of the *Notulen* of Brazil, dated January 20, 1654, archive of Holland, # 5252.

Jew Joseph Franciz which they claimed was worth robbing.¹⁹³ The government decided to give arms to the burghers to prevent such outrages.

By January 25, 1654 the Recief government was forced to negotiate with the Portuguese, and two days later Vieira entered the city as victor. The Dutch had lost New Holland.

Instead of blaming themselves for the inefficient aid to the colony, the West India Company censored the Brazilian government for having surrendered Recief to the Portuguese. A pamphlet, probably written by one of the XIX, accused the Jewish broker Abraham Couhijn (Cohen) of being equally culpable with the Supreme Council. They were blamed for selling goods and keeping money which rightfully belonged to the company. The fact is that Abraham Cohen was merely the purchasing agent of the Supreme Council.¹⁹⁴

Many Jews left the colony when the Portuguese took over the reigns of government as they did not wish to be under Portuguese domination. Many of the Dutch Jews returned to Amsterdam with the Rabbis Aboab and Aguilar, although more than one Jew continued his relations with Brazil, Jeronimo Nunes da Costa was given general power of attorney for the deputies of the Portuguese Brazilian Company August, 1659. He in turn empowered an individual to liquidate and adjust the business relations of Rodrigo Arias

¹⁹³ O. packet # 1 quotes Souto Maior, *supra*, p. 180-184.

O. remarks that Joseph Franciz is probably the same Joseph Francis, a Jew, mentioned in 1660 as having been in New Amsterdam for several years, see Oppenheim, *Publications*, *supra*, p. 67. Abraham Cohen is also mentioned as having business relations with New Amsterdam after 1654 and as having employed Asser Levy there to act for him. He is named as a principal shareholder of the West India Company.

¹⁹⁴ O. packet # 1 quotes *Cort Bondigh ende Waerachtigh Verhael van't schandelijk overgeven en de verlaten vande voornaemste Conquesten van Brasil*, etc., Middleburgh, 1655.

Brandon of Rouen with the company.¹⁹⁵ Some of those who did not return settled in other parts of America to which they brought their experience as sugar planters and traders.

August 6, 1661, Holland made peace with Portugal. She received 8,000,000 guilders as damages and finally relinquished New Holland and Angola. The agreement guaranteed free trade and the right of the Dutch to settle in all Portuguese colonies.¹⁹⁶

V. CONCLUSION.

The dominant part played by the Jews of Brazil is evident from this study. Their importance is corroborated by every writer on Brazil whom we have consulted. We do not know whether the percentage of Jewish population in New Holland was greater than in Amsterdam but we do know beyond the peradventure of a doubt that the Jewish colonists of Brazil made themselves more conspicuous. They were allied to the ruling Dutch minority in a land chiefly inhabited by Portuguese Catholics. Their connections with Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam was of great value to them in fostering Brazilian trade.

The arrival of the Dutch Jews stimulated certain early Marrano settlers to profess their ancestral faith and join the newcomers. These early settlers were, for the most part, sugar planters who soon acquainted the newly arrived Jews with the sugar trade. Before long, many of the *Sephardim* from Amsterdam were actively engaged in all branches of the sugar industry. As we have pointed out before, their knowledge of Portuguese and Dutch greatly facilitated their

¹⁹⁵ Writ of power of attorney in an unpublished MS. in the *Notariele Archieven* record of Notary Pieter Padthuysen.

¹⁹⁶ O. has a copy of unpublished minutes of the Dutch West India Company, 1663, found in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, MS. Division, which, he states, is important to Jewish History and to general history of the Dutch in Brazil; see appendix C.

own enterprises and was of no small import to the government of New Holland.

The Jews found themselves in the anomalous position of living among their former persecutors, the Portuguese, who resented the fact that non-Christians were less restricted in the practice of their religion than themselves. It was not easy for this Catholic population to reconcile itself to the relatively favorable status of the despised Jews. This was one of the reasons which stimulated rebellion against the Dutch, as under Portuguese rule the Jews would have no opportunity of gaining prominence. The repeated charges of blasphemy and ridicule of Christianity directed against the Jewish settlers indicate that they felt secure enough in the colony to venture upon a criticism of the dominant creed.

Despite the virulent prejudice against them their importance as brokers is testified to by the fact that Christians found it to their advantage to utilize Jewish commercial connections and therefore preferred to employ Jews as brokers.

With the influx of the *Ashkenazim* retail and petty trade became a prominent Jewish activity. In spite of Christian protests, the Jews of Brazil were permitted to open retail shops in the colony, whereas at home, in Amsterdam, the guilds restricted this activity.

Brazilian Jewry was given a certain measure of security in the face of persecution and discrimination by the knowledge that the Jewish community in Amsterdam was ready to jump into the breach for it on any provocation. That a Jewish representative, d'Assevedo, was a member of a committee sent out by the Recife government to report to the Dutch government on Brazilian conditions shows that the Jews in Brazil were a power to be reckoned with.

No adequate study of Marrano names has been made. We are constantly confronted with the problem of identifying Spanish and Portuguese names as Jewish. In certain in-

stances we have taken the liberty of questioning the Jewish origin of a name included among Jews by Oppenheim. Often the only way to establish the Jewishness of a name is to attempt to determine whether or not the name in question has been listed as specifically Jewish in another context. The Coutinho family still has its representatives in Amsterdam Jewry. However, we know that the ambassador, de Sousa Coutinho, was not a Jew although he may have been a Marrano. This uncertainty as to Portuguese names adds to the difficulty of estimating Jewish activity.

After the Portuguese reconquest Jews of Brazil formed nuclei of Jewish settlements in several colonies, bringing with them their wide commercial experience and specialized knowledge of the sugar industry.

It is to be regretted that this paper furnishes so little information on the social and intellectual life of Brazilian Jewry. The Oppenheim material so far consulted has yielded very little in these realms. A more careful study of the *Classis* of Brazil and the *Notulen*, minutes, of the government in Recife may yield important material.

It is hoped that this study may prompt further investigations of Jewish life in one of the most important Jewish communities in the New World and that the scholarly endeavors of the late Samuel Oppenheim will bear abundant fruit.

APPENDIX A.

1645. December 7th.

The States General of the United Netherlands

To all those Who Shall Hear or Read these Presently: Greeting—
Know Ye, That, Whereas, we have heretofore for several years perceived and remarked from various continuous acts the special favorable disposition and affection which the Jewish nation in far off quarters as well as those of them who sojourn here in this country have and bear towards the furtherance of the service of this State, the welfare of the Chartered West India Company in general, and in particular the consideration and support of the conquest in Brazil,

the said nation has lately shown and has made to appear by its loyalty and valor there in this regard. Therefore it is that we, because thereof and for other reasons and considerations, have taken, as we do hereby take, the said Jewish nation in Brazil aforesaid, as also their goods, wares and merchandise under our special patronage, protection and safeguard against all violence to be shielded, protected and free from annoyance, seizure, strain, ransom, plundering and otherwise and so to remain. Wherefore we request and none the less ordain and require the present Supreme Government in Brazil as also the one that has been newly appointed thither and that may in the future be appointed, to give the same care and make the same provision relative thereto that the said Jewish nation in all parts and on all occasions shall also as against anyone who shall injure them in their persons or goods, wares and merchandise or otherwise trouble and molest them, be protegeed and protected like other nationals of these United Netherlands themselves and the said Supreme Government that now is or hereafter shall be in Brazil, shall favor and be of service to the aforesaid Jewish nation on all occasions according to and as their loyalty and valor deserved and also in all cases let them enjoy the result thereof without in any manner making or observing or causing to be made or observed any greater or lesser distinction or division between them and those of our other nationals not doubting that the said Jewish nation will thereby be more and more animated and encouraged to further the service in this state and that of the puissant West India Company, they being also assured that we and the said Supreme Government will look out for their good with fatherly care. And in regard to them the oft mentioned Supreme Governments shali in all the aforesaid matters not fail as we have decided the same to be proper.

Given at The Hague under our cassette, paraph and signature of our clerk on the 7th day of December, 1645. Was paraphed I. Isselmuiden, *v. t.* Below stood: "On the order of the Puissant Lord States General," and was signed Cornelius Musch, 1641, being originally written in French and sealed with a seal of the Puissant their High Mightinesses in red wax covered with white paper.

Collated with the original and found to agree exactly by me Notary public in The Hague, September 25, 1653, and signed: M. Beekman.

(*Notulen van Staten General*, September 26th, 1653, in Archive West India Company, Old Company, # 3, fol. 1720, etc.)

APPENDIX B.

To the Supreme Government
now in Brazil
February 27, 1646.

Item mutatis mutandus to
Sir President Schoonenb. and the
four Privy Supreme Councillors in
Brazil,

from the States General,

re Jewish Nation.

We have heard with great displeasure that the Portuguese rebels have separated the Jews from the Netherlanders and have imprisoned these Jews, eight in number in the Castle of Bahia. This was in contradiction to the agreement of October of the past year 1645 made with the inhabitants of Rio St. Francisco namely with the soldiers, burghers and residents (among whom the Jews were included) which agreement was the reason that the place was given to the rebels. The eight Jews, all residents of Amsterdam who left there to carry on trade in Brazil, have been treated very badly and threatened that their lot will be made worse. We have already written you on December 7th last¹ on behalf of the Jewish nation. We herewith once more request you that we desire and order that you will take pains and measures to protect the said Jewish nation in all parts of Brazil and on all occasions and that you will also shield them against all persons who wish to harm their persons, their properties, wares and merchandise in the same way as you protect and shield other inhabitants and natives of this land. We instruct you to perform all duties and good offices to the end that the Jews aforementioned detained in Bahia be treated in the same manner as the other inhabitants of St. Francisco according to all national rights and according to the agreement made with the rebellious Portuguese, October, 1645. We instruct you to insist that the detained Jews be freed in the same manner as our Christian subjects and residents. Furthermore it is our earnest wish and serious intention that you treat and cause to be treated the Jewish nation on a basis of equality with all other residents and subjects in all treaties, negotiations and actions in and out of war without discrimination in accordance with the content of our aforementioned missive of the 7th December. In order that the aforementioned Jewish nation shall be animated with ever

¹ See Appendix A, *supra*.

increasing affection, good will and attachment to the promotion of service to these lands in general and to the West India Company in particular.

The Hague, February 27, 1646.

(*Register van Brieven afgesonden door de Staten Generaal*, 1646, # 3602.)

APPENDIX C.

By the treaty of peace entered into between Holland and Portugal on August 6, 1661 it was provided by the 25th article that a statement should be prepared by the Dutch of the amount claimed by them for damage and loss to the West India Company by reason of the taking over of their properties in Brazil and inability to collect from the debtors there the amounts due them. A certain percentage of these claims was to be paid to the West India Company proportionate to the amount of assets collectable by the Portuguese in Brazil. Under this clause the Dutch West India Company, pursuant to resolutions passed at a meeting held in 1663 prepared a statement of account which showed the names of many Jewish debtors to the Company. It also showed what amounts were still due the Company as balances due from the sales of confiscated sugarmills in 1637 and 1638.

The minutes of the Company covering this period are preserved in the Dutch West India Company papers, MS. Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Photographic copies of these minutes have been filed with the American Jewish Historical Society. The following is a translated copy of those minutes.

POINTS.

REGARDING WHICH THE DELEGATES REPRESENTING THE RESPECTIVE CHAMBERS AT THE ASSEMBLY OF THE XIX HAVE BEEN CONVOKED BY THE PRESIDENTIAL CHAMBERS IN THE HAGUE FOR THE MIDDLE OF FEBRUARY, 1663.

I.

Deliberation shall first be had on the first point presented by the Honorable Deputies of the Province of Zeeland to the Assembly of their High Mightinesses and which has not yet been settled relative to the drawing of the obligation and to the convoys of the ships which shall according to the third article of the treaty with Portugal, go hence to Brazil by way of Portugal.

II.

Secondly, In regard to the second clause, it was requested that the depositors excepting those who have a special mortgage must be satisfied with forty percent to be successively paid out of payments as received, with two percent interest added, the surplus to be administered to the profit of the participants.

III.

Whether the states of this country can be induced to retain all stipulated moneys as against the same to take over, as a charge on the Receiver, the Company's present debts.

IV.

On the fourth, concerning the request for the extension of the Charter.

V.

The second call not having been settled at the last Assembly of the XIX, the election of a fiscal for the North coast of Africa shall be proceeded with.

VI.

By private advice from the Coast of Africa tidings having been received of the death of General van Heusen and his assistant Cock, the election of a new assistant over the North coast of Africa shall be proceeded with.

VII.

The trade of Angola, having been stipulated by the treaty with Portugal, deliberation should be had upon whether the same shall be further thrown open to private parties or shall remain reserved to the Company.

VIII.

In what form and manner the money promised by the Portuguese shall be received.

IX.

For what purpose the money to be received shall be employed.

X.

Whether provisionally we shall continue with the trade to the Coast of Guinea, the money required therefore being invested on bottomry as heretofore.

XI.

Whether we shall enter into an agreement concerning the variances and differences between this and the pretending Swedish African Company pending undecided before their High Mightinesses.

At The Hague

In the Name of the Lord! Amen!

Friday, March 9, 1663, Afternoon.

Present: Messrs. Jacob Pergeno, President	}	Amsterdam
Coenraet Burgh		
Anthony Verspreet	}	Zeeland
Francis Maens		
Nicholaes ten Hove		
Melchior van Hoorne		Mase
		Northern Quarter

The Assembly of the XIX having been convoked by the presidential Chamber of Amsterdam in regard to the foregoing points for the middle of February, and the Commissaries delegated for that purpose by their respective Chambers having appeared here with respect thereto, there was read after a prayer, the Credential of the Chamber of Amsterdam to Messrs. Abraham Wilmerdoncx, Jacob Pergens and Coenraet Burgh, Schepens and Councillors of the said city, dated at Amsterdam the 12th February of this current year, 1663.

A credential of the main participants of the Chamber of Amsterdam to Mr. Jacobus Reijnst, Commissary of the insolvent estate as main participating director and Messrs. Anthony Verspraet and Solomon Sweers, assessors with power, in the absence of Mr. Reijnst to take his Honor's place, dated at Amsterdam, February 16th aforesaid:

A credential of the Chamber of Zeeland to Mr. Francis Moens, an Elector of the City of Middelburgh, dated there February 9th aforesaid;

A credential of the Chamber of the Maze to Messrs. Nicolaes Ten Hove and Adriaen Hartman, dated at Dordrecht, February 16th aforesaid;

A credential of the Chamber of the Northern Quarter and West Friesland to Messrs. Marten Roos, Councillor and Schepen of the City of Enckhuysen and Melchior van Hoorne, dated at Hoorne.

The members of the Chamber of Amsterdam and of the Meuse having attended here since March 1st in the absence of the other respective members, and having made the written report that follows were thanked for the trouble they took, and the other respective members confirmed the following report.

REPORT.

Thursday, March 1, At The Hague, afternoon.

The members of the Chamber of Amsterdam and of the Meuse being here present pursuant to the mandate of their Honorable High Mightinesses, dated December 11, 1662 and the proclamation of the Presidential Chamber for the middle of February and some discussion having been had regarding the order of the projected business it was thought proper and agreed to, first, to await the arrival of the other respective members and in the meantime to primarily give information to the Commissaries of the Swedish business, and especially to Mr. Isbrants, for which purpose Messrs Wilmerdoncx, Sweerts and the Advocate are deputed.

Friday, March 2. In the afternoon.

The gentlemen deputed yesterday to give information to Mr. Isbrants having reported that his Honor because of some necessary business had put their Honors off till tomorrow, the Advocate was thereupon charged to inquire of Mr. Huygens regarding a certain selection from the memoranda of the Company and of the Silver Crowns respectively heretofore drawn up by him and which memoranda had been handed to Mr. Huygens for his lawyer and after obtaining the same to have it copied for Mr. Isbrants.

Abraham d'Assevedo stated that some persons who had bought Engenhos from the Company in Brazil and had not yet fully paid for them, and would be inclined, pursuant to the 25th article of the treaty with the Crown of Portugal, to operate the aforesaid Engenhos and come to an agreement in regard to the same with the Portuguese ambassador, but fearing that after the pains they may take the Company might claim full payment for the unpaid purchase money and the same might possible cost more than the complete Engenhos could be had by agreement from the Portuguese, therefore unless the Company should declare in regard to this they would rather quit the whole business than to make vain efforts. He also asked whether the Company would permit the Engenhos on which they have a mortgage covering the unpaid purchase money to be operated

as a whole by the owners, receiving their debts later from the owners, or whether the Company would permit the owners to operate only the portion which has already been paid for by them to the Company and themselves take over and operate that which has not been paid for: All of which being taken in consideration the members present were quite inclined to permit the aforesaid people to operate their Engenhos as a whole and also to receive their indebtedness for the same undivided but in the same proportion as the aforesaid people shall agree concerning the principal debt. The members from Zeeland, North Quarter and Groningen, however, being absent, it was agreed to postpone the determination of the main question until the arrival of the aforesaid gentlemen, and in the meanwhile to give the aforesaid people hopes that their request will be granted and to recommend them to draw up their claims and present the same to the Advocate, who is hereby deputed for the purpose, in order to examine the same and to report thereon.

It was further resolved to deliver tomorrow to their High Mightinesses the list of the Company's debtors in Brazil and to consider pursuant to the resolution of their High Mightinesses under date of the 2nd past, all the Netherland claims inserted here below which have been placed in the hands of the country's advocates, Messrs. Gisbert de Wit and Jacob van der Elst for the purpose of preparing the general list, in the presence of Messrs. Nieuburgh and Stavenisse, it being requested that some one on behalf of the Company may be added to the aforesaid Commissioners. The Advocate for this purpose is charged to draw up a memorandum. Extract from the Register of the Resolutions of the High and Mighty Lords States General of the United Netherlands.

Monday, February 26, 1663.

After deliberation it has been resolved and decided that all the Brazilian claims of the inhabitants of this country, already sent in and still to be sent in, shall be placed in the hands of the country's advocates Mr. Gisbert de Wit as also Jacob van der Elst, in order to have the same passed upon, in the presence of Messrs. Nieuburgh and Stavenisse, at the proper time they may make a report regarding the same.

Agrees with the aforesaid Register.

Saturday March 3. In the forenoon.

Messrs. Wilmerdoncx and the Advocate, in the absence of Messrs. Burgh and Sweerts, went to the house of Mr. Isebrants and, after

previous verbal notice, handed to His Honor the data drawn from the respective memoranda of the Company and Silver Crown, delivered to their High and Mighty Assembly the list of the Portuguese debtors with the memoranda directed to go therewith in manner following:

To the High and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United Netherlands.

Whereas your High Mightinesses, by publication of the 25th article of the treaty with the Crown of Portugal have been pleased to notify, inform and order all persons in what manner the provisions of the aforesaid article shall be carried out, therefore, the Directors of the Chartered West India Company of this country to whom considerable sums are due from residents of Brazil and other subjects of Portugal, have by virtue of the aforesaid article and publication, drawn up the annexed list in which the names and amounts of the Company's debtors, living under the rule of the Crown of Portugal, are expressed;

We ask first, with all humbleness, that your High Mightinesses, be pleased also to take over the matter and thereupon to carry out, in the interest of your subjects, the good intention expressed in the aforesaid treaty, in such manner as in your great wisdom you shall judge necessary and, secondly, Whereas, the aforesaid directors have learned that by resolution of the 26th of February it has pleased your High Mightinesses to put all the Brazil claims of the inhabitants of these countries, already sent in and still to be presented, into the hands of the Country's Advocates Mr. Gijsbrecht de Wit together with Jacob vander Elst, in order to arrange the same, under the supervision of the Lords Nieuburgh and Stavenisse, and to report thereon in due time and that Your High Mightinesses, in consideration of the great interest which the West India Company has in the same affair, the accompanying list of the personal debts alone amounting to the sum of . . . be pleased, in the preparation of the said list to conjoin to the aforementioned persons somebody on the part of the aforesaid Company and particularly since the items, to the number of more than three hundred must be verified by the Company's business, be assigned to assist the aforesaid persons with their fuller information

Which doing, etc.

List of Portuguese debtors to the Netherland general Chartered West India Company and what is still owing by them to the said Company at the balancing of accounts.

	Guilders	Stuivers	Cents
Diego Soares da Cunha	28,155:	6:	
Fernandes Lopes	3,762:	:	
Diego Mendez van der Nezen	1,596:	:	
Domingo Rodrigus in Pomca	3,720:	:	
Domingo Morera	2,100:	:	
Balthazar Gonslaves Morera	45,504:	8:	
Domingo de Mendonca	69:	12:	
Diego Dias Francees	3,573:	:	
Diago Carvalho de Bento Roz	4,974:	10:	
Manuel Tristaon	1,360:	7:	
Diego Tomas	6,379:	2:	
Diego de Fonseque Limos	43,840:	:	
Domingo Botelho Soares	708:	:	
Domingo Rodrigus Dassevedo in Pojuca	17,051:	10:	
Diego Nunes Fontes	890:	2:	
Domingo de St. Jago	571:	12:	
Domingo Carvalho Dassevedo	187:	10:	
Diago Ferdinandes Pantorro	19,500:	:	
Diogo Sariava	1,380:	:	
Domingo Gonsalvo Massagan	626:	12:	
Diogo Lopes Ferera	4,056:	10:	
Gaspar Ferdinandes Mandura	5,064:	:	
Gonsalvo Perera	2,136:	:	
Francisco Soaris da Cunha of Marije de Menaije	35,553:	1:	
Francisco Dandrado Camonha	796:	18:	
Gaspar Gonsalvos Villas	57,989:	12:	
Francisco Faria in de Vergia	1,308:	:	
Francisco Cassado	1,335:	9:	
Francisco Lopes Disinero	3,493:	12:	
Francisco Ribero	1,200:	:	
Francisco Dias Dalgado	23,962:	:	
Francisco Ferdinando Morera	1,728:	:	
Francisco Gonsalvo de Menaije	269:	16:	
Franciseo Caneiro de Morais	36:	11:	
Francisco de Britto and Jan Wijmants	68,000:	:	
Jan Fernando Carvalho	4,637:	4:	
Jan Cornero Texero	180:	15:	

	Guilders	Stulvers	Cents
Francisco Carnero dacosta	9,914:	:	
Ferdinand Soaris	2,073:	9:	
Francisco Rodrigus de Lixboa	9,062:	3:	
Francisco de Britto Perera	2,155:	10:	
Francisco de Rotcha	782:	4:	
Ferdinandes Rodrigus Boulions	74:	:	
Francisco Gonsalvos Fontes	3,384:	:	
Ferdinando Cortinho Dassevedo	2,244:	:	
Ferdinando Gomme	8,496:	:	
Francisco Perera Villar	103:	11:	
Francisco Birongel	1,800:	:	
Francisco Nunes	1,680:	:	
Ferdinando Mendes Crux	1,534:	:	
Francisco de sa Preto	4,332:	:	
Francisco Alvares	555:	12:	
George Leitao	55:	15:	
Francisco de tada Albuquerke	7,560:	:	
Francisco Leitao	3,500:	:	
Gasper Ferdinandes	1,452:	:	
Gabriel Soares	46,983:	18:	
Gonsalvo Terecero	1,320:	:	
Gaspar Gonsalvos Moreno	744:	:	
Gasalva de Luna	191:	16:	
George Lopes de Moira	1,550:	10:	
George de Barros Perera	1,572:	17:	
Antho Luis in Pojuca	4,148:	:	
Antho Carvalho	8,131:	14:	
Andreas Soares da Cunha	22,572:	11: 8	
Anth ^y Morena	423:	:	
Alonce Gomme	15,689:	12:	
Alfonce Alvares	447:	8:	
Antho Correa Vander Nesen	7,608:	:	
Alvaro Texero	11,076:	:	
Alphonso Gomme	2,564:	16:	
Antho. Dias da Brego	2,110:	14:	
Antho. Magelhains de Melo	14,414:	10:	
Antho. Viera Carnero	1,380:	:	
Alfero Lepo Barretto	1,028:	:	

	Guilders	Stulvers	Cents
Antho. Ferera	480:	16:	
Augustius Leitao	3,400:	:	
Antho. Valveze	1,320:	:	
Antho. da Rotga Bessera	3,060:	:	
Aris Pinto	3,251:	:	
Antho. George	420:	:	
Antho. de Fretos	1,296:	:	
Antho. Perera	3,627:	2:	
Antho. Mendes in Moribeeq	7,603:	4:	
Antho. Lauroge	4,785:	4:	
Arnout d'Hollande	27:	16:	
Antho. Martin	998:	2:	
Antho. Louis Bromo	375:	:	
Andre Coelho	16,086:	2:	
Antho. de Crasto	4,893:	18:	
Antho. Teixeira de Melo	1,200:	:	
Andre Gamero in Olinda	2,844:	:	
Antho. Correa Calhero	10,271:	:	
Bras Perera	1,836:	8:	
Belthor Alveres	6,210:	16:	
Balthazar Leitao Vaez Concelho	21,232:	7:	
Balthazar Berboza	1,613:	11:	
Bento Rodrigus	6,174:	:	
Belthor Leitao Ferera	80:	:	
Bento Mendes	2,771:	18:	
Bras Alphonso	7,071:	17:	
Batho. Soares	4,704:	:	
Bento Massedo Feria	508:	:	
Barnardo Velho Berretto	70:	:	
Belthior Manuel Ehanido	2,000:	:	
Joan Carneiro de Morrais	84,572:	4:	
Manuel da Silva in Pariba	2,368:	4:	
Gonsalvo Dias Bruchado	4,261:	1:	
Gonsalvo de Sousa in de Mattos	377:	13:	
Gasper de Mendosa	865:	16:	
Gasper Soliviera	8,025:	:	
Gasper de Silva	329:	5:	
Guilam Gomes	3,993:	1:	

	Guilders	Stuivers	Cents
Gonsalvo Magelhains	118:	16:	
Gasper Correa Rezio	2,352:	:	
Antho. Bezerra inde Vergia	1,608:	:	
Andrea Lopes	21,827:	3:	
Antho. Cavelgantij	20:	:	
George Rodrigus Pinto	9,940:	4:	
Francisco Ferinando Anho	70,590:	9:	
Carel Dassevede	732:	:	
Gaspar Francisco Resio	8,000:	:	
Belthor Colasa	4,452:	12:	
Hilming Ferera	38,000:	:	
Francois de Frogere	6,400:	16:	
Ignatio Mendes Dassevedo	1,800:	:	
Josuat Gonsalvos	300:	:	
Joan Gomes Dandrado	5,400:	:	
Joan Gracees	704:	16:	
Joan Guterus	21,843:	5:	8
John de Fonseca	2,000:	:	
Jan de Torres	31,248:	13:	8
Mattias da Costa	14,811:	7:	
Amaro Lopes Madura	31,473:	19:	
Amador d'Anrouge	30,528:	11:	
Antho. Viera aende Caep	7,612:	3:	
Cosmo de Foreest	4,536:	:	
Antho. Ferdinando Caminho	52,089:	9:	
Antho. Barbelho	155,163:	3:	
Domingo Carvalho			
Domingo Consalvos Lemego	1,875:	:	
Jean Francisco	460:	16:	
Ignatio de Camero	9,228:	:	
Duart Nunes in Sarinhain	59,773:	4:	
Hieronimus Vaas	315:	:	
Joan de Barros Correa	879:	11:	
Jan Nunes de Pas	4,631:	2:	
Jan Baptista da Silva	3,162:	:	
Joan Tenoro de Molina	38,604:	12:	
Jeronimo de Rotcha	3,592:	:	
Jean Peres	2,688:	:	

	Guilders	Stuivers	Cents
Joan Pais Cabral	6,864:	:	:
Joan Gommès de Melo of Donna Adriana	4,608:	19:	:
Joan Correa de Mendagne	3,620:	:	:
Jan Pimento	10,368:	:	:
Joan d'Orange	120:	:	:
Joan Ferdinando Viera	321,756:	1:	8
Joan ten Grande	560:	:	:
Joan Tavaros de Maltos	38,206:	18:	8
Jeronimo Correa vander Mesen	970:	17:	8
Joan Machado de Britto	4,824:	:	:
Joan Soares	2,208:	3:	:
Isabella Cabral	358:	7:	:
Ignatio Correa	4,152:	:	:
Isaack Madera	238:	:	:
Ignatio Rodrigus	8,164:	17:	:
Joseph da Rotcha	4,260:	:	:
Joan Doliviera in Compie.	200:	:	:
Joan Nunes in Poinca	9,012:	18:	:
Joan Barrette zijn Wed. [his widow]	500:	:	:
Joan Montera Madura	2,520:	:	:
Joan Rodrigus	5,040:	:	:
Jan Laurento Frances	80,133:	5:	:
Joan Morera in Goyane	1,092:	:	:
Jan Gommès Maranhaon	960:	:	:
Jan Ribero da Mombabo	900:	:	:
Louis de Mendosa Cabral	6,400:	:	:
Lopo Sanches	8,349:	2:	:
Louiz Gommès	918:	:	:
Laurens de Cunha	216:	:	:
Louis da Costa Valentia	6,888:	:	:
Louis da Costa Perrera	15,533:	16:	:
Louis Dias Preterre	1,128:	:	:
Louis Bras Pesera	2,437:	10:	:
Laurents Ferera Betancour	23,740:	14:	:
Manuel Ferera da Costa	4,110:	3:	:
Manuel da Cunha	3,123:	:	:
Manuel Perera Fregason	15,323:	8:	:
Manuel da Costa Moira	1,336:	:	:

	Guilders	Stuivers	Cents
Manuel Bizerra	648:	18:	
Manuel Jacomo Bissera	4,178:	19:	
Michiel Ferdinando de Sa	39,090:	2:	
Moses Rodrigus	2,667:	10:	
Manuel de Sousa	16,270:	6:	
Manuel Andre	852:	:	
Manuel Morrais	4,440:	:	
Maria Berboza	600:	:	
Manuel de Queirrios	1,860:	17:	
Matthias Gommès	6,707:	2:	
Maria de Cabo Verde	383:	:	
Manuel Pais de St. Paijo	6,798:	6:	8
Manuel Seixas	3,486:	2:	
Manuel Rodrigus Canunha	469:	16:	
Manuel Gonsalvos Froes	1,569:	8:	
Manuel Correa Bastanho	1,958:	8:	
Michiel Maranhão	290:	5:	
Manuel Sattellis	306:	12:	
Marcus de Sousa	1,496:	:	
Manuel Carvalho	350:	:	
Manuel Lopes en Francisco Gonsalvo	359:	17:	
Manuel Morena	11,064:	:	
Manuel Anthonio	5,520:	:	
Manuel Vaaz Vehu	190:	:	
Manuel Berboza	7,320:	10:	
Manuel Duarte and Francisco Rodrigus	76:	18:	
Matteus de Mechado	240:	:	
Sijmon Berboza Perera	1,049:	11:	
Michiel Soaris Perera	4,152:	:	
Manuel Rodrigus Serane	5,868:	:	
Manuel Carneiro de Morrais	3,204:	:	
Nuno Alverres Machado	960:	:	
Pedro Correa da Costa	985:	:	
Pedro Ruijs	8,390:	:	
Pedro de Rotcha	4,900:	:	
Pedro Lopes de Vera	28,587:	6:	
Paulo Dalmedo	54,909:	:	
Pedro Dias Dandrado	937:	6:	

	Guilders	Stuivers	Cents
Pedro Morena de Moura	15,020:	8:	
Pedro Carvalho	900:	:	
Pedro de Crasto	6,648:	9:	
Pedro Fregasaon	4,071:	1:	
Philipo Pais Beretto	36,314:	2:	
Paulo Perera Morena	3,989:	3:	
Pasqual Dias	8,463:	8:	
Pedro Dacunha Dandrado	570:	:	
Pedro da Costa Caminha	36,416:	6:	
Pedro Marinho Valcaon	5,616:	:	
Phillipo Perera	5,520:	:	
Rodrigo de Borrás Pimentel	24,283:	:	
Sebastiaen Falcao Soares	6,318:	10:	
Sebastiaen Martijn	699:	5:	
Sebastiaen Ferea	2,904:	:	
Sijmon deSeguredo	1,956:	:	
Sijmon Ferrera Jacomo	2,101:	13:	
Sijmon Rodrigus Villa Real	87,214:	11:	
Sebastiaen Pacheco	960:	:	
Sebastiaen Carvalho	2,640:	:	
Sijmon Vander Nesen	12,133:	19:	
Sijmon Carvalho	181:	4:	
Steven Rodrigus Chamosa	5,560:	:	
Sebastiaen Oracees	274:	:	
Steven Correa d'Andrado	1,988:	8:	
Thomas Pacheco	2,016:	:	
Thomas Louis	934:	:	
Vincent Rodrigus	8,316:	:	
Vaico Marino Valcao	167:	8:	
Vincent Curado	1,387:	13:	
Duarte Gommès	5,356:	19:	8
Ferdinando Valo	5,984:	13:	
Francisco Camelho Volcao	160,425:	2:	
George Saraiva	6,385:	5:	
Gaspar Dias Ferera	62,954:	7:	
George Homo Pinto	1,245,160:	:	
Gonsalvo Dolivera	1,800:	:	
Gonsalvo novo de Lira	16,500:	:	

	Guilvers	Stulvers	Cents
Gabriel de Molijn	210:	:	
George da Silva	13,309:	16:	
Joan Pessoa Bissera and Mantega	3,653:	6:	
Jeronimo Cadena	215,692:	:	
Jan Faria	1,558:	4:	
Manuel Ferdinando Crux	61,160:	7:	
Manuel Dias Soaris	730:	8:	
Manuel da Costa	4,162:	10:	8
Manuel Dalmedo Bothelho	2,631:	:	
Manuel Antieus	8,000:	:	
George da Silva Ferro	18,637:	5:	
Jan Viera Dalgao	23,259:	8:	
Mattens da Costa	14,811:	7:	
Manuel Perera Fregaiao	15,323:	8:	
Maria Dolivera	36,653:	13:	
Paulo Perera Morina	3,989:	3:	
Manuel Cavelgantij	40,073:	18:	
Paulo Dalmedo	54,909:	:	
Philip de Ron	414:	:	
Francisco Faria in de Stadt (in the city)	914:	:	
Francisco Rodrigo de Porto	368:	12:	
Total	4,642,196:	13:	8

All the aforesaid debts can be verified first, with the original account of the debtors kept by the Company in Brazil, in their trading books, and afterwards with all the posted entries in the same accounts, with the original autographs of the said debtors, besides other documents relating thereto, &c.

The aforesaid list having been taken over by their High Mightinesses and it having been arranged and agreed regarding the aforesaid memorial that somebody selected by the Company itself shall be employed to prepare the list, it is therefore

Resolved by a further memorandum that two lists shall be delivered, one, of the houses, warehouses, storehouses, etc. which the Company had in Brazil, and the other, of the Engenhos sold but not yet fully paid for and consequently under lien to the Company by lawful mortgage.

Monday, March 5

The list of Engenhos hypothecated to the Company for the unpaid purchase money and of their own houses, warehouses, storehouses, together with the ordered memoranda having been prepared it was therefore decided first, to recommend to their High Mightinesses Mr. ten Hove, in conjunction with the Advocate, as Commissaries on the part of the Company, and there are further deputed Messrs. Wilmerdincks and ten Hove to deliver the aforesaid further memoranda and lists to Mr. Resen, now president of their High Mightinesses, and further to inform his Honor the Lords Directors, fully instructed in writing by their High Mightinesses in regard to the Swedish differences, are now present.

To the High and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United Netherlands:

The Directors of the Chartered West India Company of these countries show, with due reference, that last Saturday, being the third of this month, your High Mightinesses, pursuant to the publication of the 25th article of the treaty with the Crown of Portugal, having delivered a list of all the personal debts due to the aforesaid Company which are considered as chargeable to the Portuguese, and it having afterwards been found that the aforesaid Company had yet in addition various houses, warehouses and storehouses in Brazil which through the revolt and surrender of Brazil fell also into the hands of the Portuguese; and that the Company having also sold various Engenhos to private parties and not having as yet received pay for most of the same, under the mortgage which still remains on the aforesaid Engenhos for so much of the aforesaid purchase money as remains unpaid, which Engenhos in virtue of the aforesaid 25th article it is entitled to demand possession from the aforesaid proprietors; for which reason the aforesaid Company has made up these two annexed lists:

Therefore the aforesaid Directors ask, with all submission that your High Mightinesses be pleased to direct also these as you did the others, as and in such manner as your great wisdom shall judge necessary to obtain the desired result. In the meantime, we also request that your High Mightinesses, after consideration, be pleased to permit favorably for the preparation of the list of the Netherland debts that somebody to be approved of by the Company, shall also be employed, and that your High Mightinesses be pleased to consider as recommended for this function the individual Nicolaes ten Hove, co-director, in conjunction with Mr. Michiel ten Hove, Advocate of the aforesaid Company.

List of the Engenhos sold by the Netherland West India Company in Brazil to the foreign Portuguese Christians and to those of the Jewish Nation, payment for which is still, in whole or in part, outstanding.

(July 2)

In the Captaincy of Pfernambuco

Jacob Stachhouwer bought on May 27, 1637 the Engenho St. Charles which belonged to Charles Francisco, situated in the Captaincy of Pfernambuco in the Verge Cap Capivariba, for 62,000 guilders, on which nothing has been paid. This the said Engenho comes under the lien of the Company for 62,000 guilders

Elbert Crispijsen bought on May 28, 1637 the Engenho Maciappa, situated in the Captaincy of Fernambuco in the parish of St. Lourens for 70,000 guilders. He privately sold the sawmill there to Poulus Vermeulen, yet he, Elbert C. Crispijns, remained debited for the same and at present is still indebted 48,800 guilders, 16 stuivers

Jaques Hack bought on May 28, 1637 the Engenho situated in the Captaincy of Phernambuco in the Verge of Capivaribu for 32,000 guilders and is still indebted 32,000 guilders

Sigis Mundus van Schoppe and Nicholaes de Ridder bought on May 20, 1637 2 Engenhos named Engenho Velho and Engenho de Guerra, situated on the south side of the Rio de Jangado for 70,000 guilders and are still indebted 35,211 guilders, 8 stuivers, 8 cents

Guilliam Schot bought on June 6, 1637 the Engenho situated in the Vergia for 20,000 guilders. He is still indebted to the amount of 20,000 guilders

Duarte Sarnaiva bought on June 17, 1637, Engenho at Berij for 10,000 guilders, also on the aforesaid date the Engenho Bon Jesus for 60,000 guilders, also on June 23, 1637 the Engenho Noro for 40,000 guilders, also on September 1, 1638 the Engenho named Camassara, situated about the Cape for 10,000 guilders. These four Engenhos amount together to 122,000 guilders and he is still indebted 89,990 guilders, 14 stuivers

Servatius Carpentier bought on May 30, 1637 the Engenho of Ires Poas and Tracontay de Lima in the Captaincy of Itamarica, situated in Goyana for 60,000 guilders; also on June 17, 1637 the Engenho Seboathan for 3,750 guilders amounting together to 97,500 guilders and he is still indebted to the amount of 97,500 guilders

Moses Navarro bought on June 18, 1637 the Engenho named Suri-facque for 45,000 guilders and he is still indebted to the amount of 45,000 guilders

Hendrick Schilt bought on June 18, 1637, 7/9 parts in the Engenho St. Paulo in which Pedro de Grande Abreu was possessed of two parts for 21,777 guilders and he is still indebted 7,211 guilders 12 stuivers 8 cents

Guilliemo de Placquea bought July 3, 1637 the Engenho Itaparesa for 44,500 guilders and is still indebted for the whole of the same 44,500 guilders

Martinus Van der Contre and Michiel Merenberg bought of the Company in 1637 the Engenho Mara Patigibay for 20,000 guilders and afterwards on March 30, 1643 they specially hypothecated the said Engenho for the sum of 38,528 guilders 6 stuivers for which and others they are still indebted, on which the same amounts to 38,528 guilders, 6 stuivers, 8 cents

Jacob Dassine bought in 1637 the Engenho Souponpena or St. Bento for 24,000 guilders and is still indebted therefore here 24,000 guilders Jacob Stackhouwer and Nicolaes de Ridder bought on May 6, 1638, the Engenho de Illhettas situated about the River Una, for 27,000 guilders also de Engenho St. Anna, on the 17th ditto, situated at St. Anfre for 30,000 guilders making a total of 57,000 guilders and both still remain unpaid therefore here 57,000 guilders. Nicolaes de Ridder bought May 20, 1638, a partido situated at St. Andre for 14,000 guilders and is still indebted in the sum of 8,907 guilders

Gaspar Nihof van der Ley bought on July 21, 1638 the Engenho named Dos Algados, situated about the Cape St. Augustijn for 20,000 guilders and on March 25, 1643 he specially mortgaged the said Engenhos to the Company for the sum of 49,964 guilders which still remains unpaid. Therefore here 49,964 guilders

David de Vries bought November 25, 1638 the Engenho of Ramalho situated in the District of Porto Calvo for 25,000 guilders and is still indebted; therefore here 25,000 guilders

In the Captaincy of St. Tamarca Hans Willem Luijs bought on May 30, 1637, the Engenho Van Goyana and also the Engenho Van Jacara, and all the lands of Capissura for 77,000 guilders, and afterwards on June 16, 1641 Michiel Hendricks agreed to pay for Hans Willem Luijs 92,095 guilders 7 stuivers for which also the aforesaid Engenho

and lands have been hypothecated, which payment has not followed, but he, Michiel Hendricks is still indebted for much larger amounts. Therefore here is set down 92,095 guilders

Jan Wijnants bought on August 8, 1637, the Engenho Novo for 48,000 guilders and also some lands at Tamaraca on August 26, 1638 there to build an Engenho for 12,000 guilders, makes together 60,000 guilders and he, Wijnants, is still indebted 47,140 guilders 16 stuivers 8 cents

The Engenhos of Trespoas and Tracontay de Smid which were bought under the Captaincy of Pfernambuco, bought by Servatius Carpentier. Therefore here for memorandum

In the Captaincy of Paraijba

Jan and Cornelis van Olen bought June 15, 1637 two Engenhos named Spiritu Sanoto and St. Antonio for 97,600 guilders and they are still indebted 29,163 guilders 16 stuivers 8 cents

Isaac de Rasiere bought June 30, 1637 three Engenhos, the first named San Cosmo and Damias in Juhobiy, the second named Engenho de Meijo, the third named Gergaon, all situated adjacent to each other, for 110,000 guilders and he is still indebted for the same 92,064 guilders 6 stuivers 4 cents

Josias Marichal bought the Engenho Dos Barreros on September 14, 1637 for 27,000 guilders also on August 26, 1642 a Partido named St. Bento, belonging to the aforesaid Engenho for 10,000 guilders, makes together 37,000 guilders, and he is still indebted for more money, therefore comes here 37,000 guilders

Captaincy of Rio Grande

George Garsteman and Balthazar Wijnties bought on June 15, 1637 the Engenho in Conhuaon for 60,000 guilders; afterwards Willem Becx and Hugo Graswinckel bought the said Engenho from Garsteman and Wijnties and on August 2, 1642 were indebted for the same in their account with the Company in the sum of 60,000 guilders as above, but on the same day this Company's account on Becx and Graswinckel was closed and each on his individual account debited for half the balance due to the Company, each half is 27,347 guilders 12 stuivers

On the same day Mathijs Becx was again debited for his half to Hugo Graswinckel, in the sum of 27,347 guilders 12 stuivers as before.

Mr. Becx afterwards on the public contracts and others was credited so much that little more remains due, but William Becx remains indebted for the aforesaid sum of 27,347 guilders 12 stuivers for his half in the aforesaid Engenho and also for other additional sums. Therefore here comes the aforesaid 27,347 guilders 12 stuivers

List of houses which the West India Company had in Brazil on the Recief and in Maurice Stadt and which were appropriated from them by the Crown and subjects of Portugal together with the value of the same at the lowest estimate.

On the Recief	Guilders
The new Council House	60,000
The Southern Corner House adjacent	10,000
The Northern Corner House	12,000
The Church with Tower and Cemetery	100,000
The Warehouse for Merchandise	25,000
The Weight House	40,000
The Equipment Warehouse	20,000
The Schoolhouse in New Street	10,000
Three houses in Bridge Street adjacent to each other	30,000
The Warehouse for Victuals, with the Bakery adjoining, both facing the bridge main street	40,000
Four houses in Bridge street on opposite sides	8,000
The Jail and the house of the Advocate Fiscal, each behind the other and coming out in Bridge and Main Street	28,000
The Shop house of the Doctor and Apothecary on Main Street	12,000
The warehouse of the Artillery between Main and Sea Streets	30,000
Two Storehouses adjacent for Victuals	16,000
The Cornet House in Sea Street lately occupied by Meyer Schott	10,000
The old Council House of Justice, with the housing adjoining	26,000
Two new storehouses opposite	25,000
The house lately occupied by Mr. Hacks in Sea Street	30,000
The shop of the Smith between Main and Sea Streets	20,000
The Storehouse next to the house of Admiral Lichthart	26,000
The houses and ship carpenter yards, each on the river edge of the Recief, with the buildings and workhouse thereon	60,000

In Maurits Stad

The City Hall	40,000
The House occupied by the Lieutenant General	16,000
The Church in Fort Ernestus	60,000
The house occupied by the Councillors of Justice &c. some- times used as a royal storehouse	80,000
The old City Hall	5,000
The French Church	100,000
	939,000

The Gunpowder Magazine, Guardhouse and headquarters of the soldiers beside the Gate have not been put down here because they were part of the fortifications. The bridge between the Recief and Maurits Stadt which since first built cost the Company over 180,000 guilders. Therefore this still amounts to 100,000 guilders.

Messrs. Pergaus and Burgh have also been deputed to inform Mr. Ommeren, as president of the committee in the Swedish business, of the arrival of the Lord Directors.

Being through with the aforesaid Commissaries the first matter taken up was the following resolution:

Extract from the Register of the Resolutions of the Noble High Mighty Lords, the States General of the United Netherlands:

Saturday, March 3, 1663

After consideration it is hereby resolved and agreed to depute director ten Hove and the Advocate of the West India Company ten Hove, pursuant to the resolution of their High Mightinesses of February 26th last, to pass upon all the Brazilian claims of the inhabitants of these countries and to report thereon at the proper time.

Paraphed

J. DE MERODE V^t

Below stood: agrees with the aforesaid
Register

Signed: N. RUIJCH.

THE HEBREW PERIODICAL PRESS IN AMERICA,
1871-1931:

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

BY FANNIE M. BRODY.

It is generally known that Hebrew periodical publications in America, unlike those in foreign lands, have been of short duration. Many reasons for this phenomenon can be furnished. The promoters of the first American Hebrew periodical publications in their enthusiasm for their enterprise overestimated not only their strength but also the possibilities for circulation and advertisements. The Hebrew periodical publications in this country had to depend largely upon immigrants for support and their great majority consisted of the earlier Russian Jewish settlers who were of the poorest class and most of them indifferent to the use of the Hebrew language for secular purposes. With but few exceptions, they were not readers of Hebrew. However, the anti-Jewish riots in Russia of the early eighties of the last century brought about a large influx into this country of a rapidly increasing number of Hebrew readers. Yet the chances for success for the Hebrew periodicals did not improve. The Hebrew intellectuals preferred to learn English as quickly as possible, and devoted little time to the advancement of Hebrew culture in their new home. However, those who did support the Hebrew press did it because of their love for the Sacred Tongue which they carried with them from their old home. They wished to hear it spoken, to read it, and some of them were even eager to express themselves in it. Unfortunately, their numbers were not large enough to assure the successful continuous existence of a Hebrew periodical publication. There is still another important reason for the short duration of the early American Hebrew periodical publications. Their promoters and editors were not always men of

influence or of business ability. However, we do find several outstanding names adorning the pages of some of these American Hebrew periodicals either as editors or contributors.

Hazofeh Be'eretz Hachadashah was the first Hebrew periodical published in America. It was established in New York by Hirsch Bernstein (1846-1907) and published for a period of about five years beginning with 1871. Bernstein was one of the Russian-Jewish *Maskilim* who immigrated to America and in this country wielded considerable influence in his circles. Measured by present standards, the literary value of the paper was insignificant but it bears the distinction of having been the first American Hebrew periodical publication. At the time of its appearance there were no writers of importance in this country and in order to fill up the pages of the paper the editor resorted to the reproduction of reading matter from the columns of *Hamaggid*, *Halebanon* and other European Hebrew publications. After a struggle of about five years which under the circumstances was heroic the publication of *Hazofeh Be'eretz Hachadashah* ceased in 1876.

This did not deter others from attempting again the establishment of a Hebrew press in this country. Though the single-handed ventures from Bernstein's *Hazofeh* to Goldman's *Hayom* met with absolute failure, they did not diminish the enthusiasm of groups of Hebrew readers and writers who were determined to carry on the cause. Individuals joined hands with societies in the coöperative ventures to perpetuate the field of Hebrew journalism in this country. These societies exercised a great deal of zeal in the promotion of Hebrew periodical publications in this country. The earliest organization of this kind was the *Shochareh Sefat Eber*, a group of *Maskilim* in New York, whose purpose it was to spread the Hebrew language and Hebrew literature among the Jews of America. They published in 1881 *Hameassef Be'eretz Hachadashah*, of which only one number appeared. There were made many more attempts and most of them met a similar fate. It will not be

necessary to mention here in detail the various periodicals which have appeared and ceased to exist as this is offered in their respective entries in the present list. But it is worthy of note here that, until recent years, most of the periodicals in America lived less than a year; of several only one or two numbers saw the light of publication and none of them ever attained the position and influence of any of the leading European Hebrew periodicals. Although the Hebrew periodicals in America were so short-lived and uninfluential in comparison with those in European countries, it is gratifying to know that since 1871 about one hundred and twenty-five Hebrew periodical publications were published in the country. This number does not include the Hebrew sections which appeared in many Yiddish dailies such as: *Der Tog*, *Jewish Morning Journal*, *Jewish Daily News*, *Warheit*, *Neue Warheit* and in Harkavy's *Americanisher Volkskalender*. Not only are such sections found in the American Yiddish press but some of the American Jewish periodicals in the English language offered Hebrew reading matter to their readers. Beginning with *The American Hebrew*, which in its first volume contains Hebrew translations of English nursery rhymes, to the miscellaneous publications issued by the students of the Hebrew Union College, Jewish Theological Seminary of America and Jewish Institute of Religion, they from time to time printed Hebrew articles, poems and related material. Several of the publications issued by Jewish cultural groups such as the *Avukah's Torchbearer* have likewise given space to Hebrew reading matter.

As already stated, the periodical press in America started by reproducing much material from the Hebrew publications issued abroad, it gradually drew on domestic original resources and widened its scope until it attempted to cover almost every field of literary interest. Zionism, of course, gave a great impetus and furnished a world of material for exploitation. An examination of the list reveals that among the Hebrew periodi-

cals published in America are those of a general nature, miscellaneous collections, and those devoted to rabbinical studies, juvenile literature, medicine, education and sermonic material. The general periodicals served to inform the Hebrew reading public of political events, local news both in the Jewish and non-Jewish world including also scientific and historical essays. They also devoted considerable space to the dissemination of knowledge of value in Americanization work. Of the collections some were literary and some belletristic, containing essays, stories and poems. The rabbinical periodicals included sermonic literature, talmudic discourses, *responsa* and *halachic* studies. Medical magazines arose out of the desire of a group of physicians interested in the coinage of Hebrew medical terms. The educational periodicals were concerned with problems of professional interest to the Hebrew teacher. With the tremendous progress made in the spread of Hebrew education in this country, especially within the last two decades, quite a few Jewish educational institutions in various communities have issued Hebrew periodicals and other publications of their own. In them, the younger generation, mostly pupils, were given a chance to express themselves in the Hebrew tongue.

* * *

No complete bibliographical survey of the American Hebrew periodical press is available. In the few bibliographies devoted to that subject which have till now appeared only the important publications are recorded. In the present list an effort is made to enter every periodical publication which has appeared in America within the last sixty years (1871-1931). Not only are the titles of those publications given in full but other useful, and what is believed to be essential, bibliographical information, such as names of editors, number of issues published, size of volumes, etc., are supplied. Each entry as a rule follows the title-page of the first volume of the publication listed, giving such pertinent information as it offers. Other useful ma-

terial is supplied in notes. The collation is given in Hebrew when it so appears on the title-page, otherwise it is supplied in English, in which case the lower figure represents the number of volumes published, the upper figure, that of issues. The aim throughout this list has been to furnish accurate information as to the exact number of volumes and issues, year and month of publication of each periodical as obtained from an examination of their files in so far as they are extant at The New York Public Library; otherwise the information was supplied from bibliographical sources. Where the publication itself was not available to the compiler, the entry is preceded by an asterisk (*) indicating this fact. In the list, the chronological order of arrangement is followed, preceded by a bibliography of the literature pertaining to the Hebrew periodical press in America. Additional bibliographical references are found under those entries to which they refer. At the end is an alphabetical list of the periodicals giving year under which they are entered.

The present list is a portion of a larger bibliographical work on the Hebrew press in general, which was compiled under the direction of Dr. Joshua Bloch, Chief of the Jewish Division of The New York Public Library who was also helpful in the preparation of this bibliography.

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- . הספרות העברית בארצות הברית. (הצפירה, Warsaw, Mar. 28, 1911, v. 37, no. 63, p. 1-2.)
- . העתונות העברית באמריקה. (התורן, New York, Jan. 7, 1921, v. 7, no. 41, p. 1-4.)
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1871

הצופה בארץ החדשה. עומד על המצפה להגיד... קורות אחב"י
בכל חלקי תבל בכלל ובאמעריקא בפרט. . . מאתי צבי הירש
בערנשטיין...
(סיון, תרל"א-תרל"ו).

New York, 1871-76.

4°, f°.

Weekly.

Editor: Hirsch Bernstein.

First periodical publication in the Neo-Hebraic language in America. Contained many interesting contributions which throw light on local and contemporary Jewish history.

Ceased to appear for several months then resumed publication.

Much reading matter taken from the columns of Hebrew periodicals printed in Russia.

No more published.

See Herman Eliassof in *The Reform Advocate*, Chicago, May 27, 1916, v. 51, p. 527; Hirsch Bernstein in *Yalkut Maaravi*, New York, 1904, p. 128-34; Max Raisin in *Hashiloah*, v. 8, Krakau, 1901-02, p. 180; Jechiel Brill in *Halebanon*, Mainz, Nov. 29, 1871, v. 8, p. 94; M. Henshel in *Hazefrah*, Warsaw, Mar. 31, 1903, v. 30, no. 66; Hirsch Bernstein in *Haivri*, New York, Sept. 3, 1897, v. 7, no. 48, p. 1; A. J. L. Horowitz in *Hadoar*, New York, May 8, 1925, v. 5, no. 23, p. 7, and in *Ner Maaravi*, New York, Dec., 1897, v. 2, p. 214-15; E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, v. 1, New York, 1913, p. 74-75; and in *Hadoar*, v. 5, no. 4, New York, Nov. 28, 1924 p. 26-27.

*הדרשות ישראליות (?). המערכת: יעקב כהן.

(1871).

New York, 1871.

Weekly.

No more published.

See Mendel Probst in *Luach Achiasaf*, Warsaw, 1923, v. 13, p. 246-47; and Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 69.

1877

*היכל העבריה.

(1877-79).

Chicago, 1877-79.

Weekly.

Editors: Nachman Baer Ettelsohn and S. L. Marcus.

Published as a supplement to their Judeo-German weekly,

איוראעליטישע פרעססע.

See Herman Eliassof in *The Reform Advocate*, Chicago, May 27, 1916, v. 51, p. 529, 531; Zalman Reisen, *Lexicon*, Wilna, 1927, v. 2, col. 739-40; and Baer Smolyar in *Inanem*, Chicago, 1924, v. 1, p. 36-38.

1880

*הצופה בארץ נוד. המערכת: יעקב צבי סובל.

(1880).

Chicago ?, 1880.

No more published.

See Mendel Probst in *Luach Achiasaf*, Warsaw, 1923, v. 13, p. 250-51; Richard Gottheil and William Popper in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," New York, 1905, v. 9, p. 639; and Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 85.

1881

...המאסף... בארץ החדשה... יאסוף בקרבו פעולות החברה
שוחרי שפת עבר ומאמרים הנוגעים לספרות העברית. יוצא לאור
פעם אחת בכל תקופות השנה על ידי חברת שוחרי שפת עבר...
שנה א, א (ניסן, תרמ"א).

New York, 1881.

12°.

Quarterly.

No more published.

See Herman Eliassof in *The Reform Advocate*, Chicago, May 27, 1916, v. 51, p. 531; Max Raisin in *Hashiloah*, Krakau, 1901-02, v. 8,

p. 264-65; E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, New York, 1913, v. 1, p. 76-78; T. P. Schapiro, *Hamitionen*, New York, 1881?; and Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 92.

1887

עדות לישראל. מב"ע עברי. מעיד על התורה והתעודה ועל כל
סגלות האומה ...

v. 1-5 (Sept. 1887-98).

Alfred Centre, N. Y., 1887-98.

8°.

Monthly.

Editor: Ch. Th. Lucky.

1897-98, entitled (עדות לישראל) העדות.

1897-98, published in Stanislaw.

Christian missionary publication.

No more published.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 102.

1888

... הלאמי ... מכתב עתי לעבודת האדמה, לחכמה ולספרות ישראל.
יצא לאור פעם אחת בשבוע ...
שנה א, א-כ"ג (י טבת-ט"ו סיון, תרמ"ט).

New York, 1888-89.

f°.

Weekly.

Editor: Ephraim Deinard

Dec. 14, 1888-Apr. 25, 1889, printed in New York; May 6-June 14, 1889, printed in Newark.

No more published.

See E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, New York, 1913, v. 1, p. 118-22; Max Raisin in *Hashiloah*, Krakau, 1901-02, v. 8, p. 266; Herman Eliassof in *The Reform Advocate*, Chicago, May 27, 1916, v. 51, p. 531; and Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 68-69.

1889

... הפסגה ... מכתב עתי מדיני, מדעי וספרותי המודיע לבית ישראל
מכל עניני המדינות בכלל ומכל דבר הנוגע ליהודים והיהדות, החכמה
והספרות בפרט ...
שנה א"ז (תרמ"ט; אדר, תר"ן-חשון, תר"ס).

New York, 1889-99.

f°.

Weekly.

Editor: William Schur.

1889-91, printed in New York; 1891-92, printed in Baltimore; 1893, in Boston; 1897-99, in Chicago.

Thirteen numbers published then ceased to appear. Resumed publication in Mar. 1890; ceased to appear again in Mar. 1893 then resumed publication in Oct. 1897.

No more published.

Continued as התחיה.

See Max Raisin in *Hashiloah*, Krakau 1901-02, v. 8, p. 266; E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, New York, 1913, v. 1, p. 117-18, 121-25; and in his *Igrot Sofrim*, New York, 1932, p. 84-132; Baer Smolyar in *Inainem*, Chicago, 1924, v. 1, p. 38-40; Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 109; Bernard Friedberg, *Bet Eked*, Antwerp, 1928-31, p. 507; and Herman Eliassof in *The Reform Advocate*, Chicago, May 27, 1916, p. 531-32.

*...הקול... אחת בשבוע ישמיע את כל הנראה והנעשה בכל אפסי תבל, עניני חכמה ומדע, תולדות אנשי שם . . . על ידי מיכאל לוי ראדקינסזאהן . . .

(1889-93).

New York, 1889-93.

Weekly.

Previously published in Koenigsberg, 1876-80; in Wien, 1885; in New York, 1889-90; in Chicago, Sept. 24, 1893.

Several issues entitled: קול העת; קול מעיר.

No more published.

See E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, New York, 1913, v. 1, p. 118-22; *Echad min Haserafim* in *Haleumi*, New York, Apr. 4, 1889, v. 1, no. 17, p. 7; Ephraim Deinard in *Haleumi*, New York, Apr. 25, 1889, v. 1, no. 19, p. 1, 2; Bernard Friedberg, *Bet Eked*, Antwerp, 1928-31, p. 536; Baer Smolyar in *Inainem*, Chicago, 1924, v. 1, p. 39-40; Samuel Margoshes in "Jewish Communal Register," New York, 1917-18, p. 621; and Herman Eliassof in *The Reform Advocate*, Chicago, May 27, 1916, v. 51, p. 531.

קרן-אור. ספר-עתי מקדש לעניני היהדות למדע וספרות ישראל . . . יוצא לאור מדי חדש בחדשו על ידי חברת דורשי ספרות העברית בשיקאגו. א. ל. זאלאטקאף, המעריך . . . שנה א, א-ב (פברואר-יוני, 1889).

Chicago, 1889.

8°

Monthly (irregular).

No more published.

See Max Raisin in *Hashiloah*, Krakau, 1901-02, v. 8, p. 267; Baer Smolyar in *Inainem*, Chicago, 1924, v. 1, p. 38; E. R. Malachi in

Hatoren, New York, 1913, v. 1, p. 78-79; and Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 119; and in *Haleumi*, Newark, N. J., May 29, 1889, v. 1, no. 22, p. 7.

1890

... הסניגור. פרקליט, מליץ וסניגור לפלגות ישראל בארץ החדשה
... ישא מדברותיו לתורה ולתעודה ולספרות העברית. פעמים בחודש
... מאת מיכאל לוי ראדקינאהן...

no. 1-7 (Sept.-Dec. 1890).

New York, 1890.

f°.

Bi-weekly, Sept.-Nov. 1890; weekly, Dec. 1890.

Several issues entitled: קול הסניגור.

No more published.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 99; and Bernard Friedberg, *Bet Eked*, Antwerp, 1928-31, p. 463.

Cf. E. R. Malachi, *Hadoar*, New York, 1934, v. 14, p. 219-220, 263-264, 279-280, 297-298.

1892

... העברי. יו"ל בכל שבוע.

v. 1-9 (Apr. 11, 1892-1902).

New York, 1892-1902.

f°.

Weekly.

Editor: Gerson Rosenzweig.

Ceased to appear July 29, 1898, then resumed publication June 7, 1901.

No more published.

See Herman Eliassof in *The Reform Advocate*, Chicago, May 27, 1916, v. 51, p. 532; E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, New York, 1913, v. 1, p. 220-25; Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 101; and in *Mistareh New York*, New York, 1909, p. 6-7; Bernard Friedberg, *Bet Eked*, Antwerp, 1928-31, p. 468; and I. M. Wise in *The American Israelite*, June 8, 1893, p. 4.

1893

ציון. יאיר נתיבות ציון ודרכי ספרות ישראל . . . יוצא לאור על
ידי אפרים דיינארד . . .
שנה א, א (תרנ"ג).

New York, 1893.

8°.

Proposed periodical but only part of first number published.

See Judah Loeb Gordon in his *Igrot*, Warsaw, 1894, v. 2, p. 395, 407; and in *Hamelitz*, St. Petersburg, Oct. 15, 1899, v. 39, no. 225, p. 7.

1894

... אוצר החכמה והמדע לספרות ישראל. כולל מאמרים שונים
מחכמי זמננו. ... יוצא לאור על ידי נחמיה שמואל ליבאוויטש, יחזקאל
ענאוויץ. ...
שנה א, א"ב (תרנ"ד).

Newark, 1894.

8°.

Quarterly.

no. 2, edited by Nehemiah Samuel Libowitz only.

Printed in New York.

No more published.

See Gerson Rosenzweig in *Haiuri*, New York, May 13, 1894, v. 4,
no. 18, p. 4; and Bernard Friedberg, *Bet Eked*, Antwerp, 1928-31, p. 23.

*המזרח. המערכת: מ. גולדמן.

(1894).

New York, 1894.

See Mendel Probst in *Luach Achiasaf*, Warsaw, 1923, v. 13, p. 270-
71; and Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 77.

... המורה. מכתב עתי חדשי מקדש למדע ולספרות ישראל...
נערך ויוצא לאור על ידי מ. גאלדמאן.
שנה א, א (תמוז, תרנ"ד).

New York, 1894.

8°.

Monthly.

No more published.

See E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, New York, 1914, v. 2, p. 34; Ephraim
Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 75; Gerson
Rosenzweig in *Haiuri*, New York, June 12, 1894, v. 4, no. 22, p. 4;
and Bernard Friedberg, *Bet Eked*, Antwerp, 1928-31, p. 349.

... האמת. מכתב עתי חדשי מקדש להאמת ואהבת המין האנושי
לצרף וללבן המפלגות והאמונות השונות ושאלות החיים ושאלות העת.
יוצא לאור ע"י יחזקאל ענאוויטש...
שנה א"ב (תמוז, תרנ"ד-סיון, תרנ"ה).

New York, 1894-95.

8°.

Monthly.

No more published.

Continued as עץ הדעת.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2,
p. 15; and Bernard Friedberg, *Bet Eked*, Antwerp, 1928-31, p. 53-54.

1895

נר המערבי. מכתב עתי חדשי יפיץ אור על חיי היהודים, על היהדות וספרת ישראל... יוצא לאור על ידי חברה מפייצי ספרת ישראל באמעריקא ...

v. 1-2¹⁻⁴ (Jan. 1895-Dec. 1897).

New York, 1895-97.

8°.

Monthly.

Editors: v. 1¹⁻⁹, Abraham Hayyim Rosenberg and Adolph Moses Radin; v. 1¹²⁻²⁴, Samuel Benjamin Schwarzberg.

v. 1¹⁻⁶, published by the *Mefitze Safrut Yisrael B'America*; v. 1⁷⁻⁹, by *Chevre Ohole Shem*; v. 1¹⁰⁻¹², by *Mefitze Safrut Yisrael B'America*.

No more published.

See Herman Eliassof in *The Reform Advocate*, Chicago, May 27, 1916, v. 51, p. 532-33; Henry Gersoni in *Independent*, New York, 1895, v. 47, p. 150; Max Raisin in *Hashiloah*, Krakau, 1901-02, v. 8, p. 464-69; Bernard Friedberg, *Bet Eked*, Antwerp, 1928-31, p. 444; Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 97; and S. B. Schwarzberg, *Tikosev Zot Ledor Acharon*, New York, 1898.

... הזמן. עתון שבועי... יצא לאור על ידי אגודת חובבי שפת עבר בנויארק ...

v. 1-2¹ (Aug. 16, 1895-Jan. 2, 1896).

New York, 1895-96.

f°.

Weekly.

Editor: Joseph Gabreelow.

No more published.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 50; and Bernard Friedberg, *Bet Eked*, Antwerp, 1928-31, p. 207.

1896

... עץ הדעת. ירחון ספרותי מקדש לחכמה ודעת ושאלות החיים... יוצא לאור ע"י יחזקאל ענאוויץ...

v. 1¹⁻² (Feb.-Mar. 1896).

New York, 1896.

Monthly.

Continuation of האמת.

No more published.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 106; and Bernard Friedberg, *Bet Eked*, Antwerp, 1928-31, p. 488.

1899

קדימה. מכתב עתי חדשי לעניני החיים ולספרות ישראל. נערך ויוצא לאור על ידי גרשון ראזענצווייג. . . .

v. 11-6 (Jan.-June 1899).

New York, 1899.

8°.

Monthly.

No more published.

See A. S. Freidus in *The American Jewish Year Book*, 5660, Philadelphia, 1899-1900, v. 1, p. 277; Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 116; and Bernard Friedberg, *Bet Eked*, Antwerp, 1928-31, p. 533.

התחיה . . . מכתב עתי מדיני, מדעי וספרותי . . . יצא לאור פעם אחת בשבוע על ידי וו. שור. . . .

שנה א"ב, א"ג (ט"ו חשון, תר"ס י חשון, תרס"א).

Chicago, 1899-1900.

Weekly.

Continuation of הפסנה.

No more published.

See E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, New York, 1913, v. 1, p. 125, and in his *Igrot Sofrim*, New York, 1932, p. 84-132; and Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 137.

. . . ספרת ציון. יכלכל אספת מאמרים שונים, כתובים בידי סופרי ישראל באמעריקא. ראה אור על ידי אגודת „מפיצי ספרת ציון" באמעריקא . . .

(1899).

New York, 1899.

8°.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 101.

1900

מעת לעת. קבץ לחכמה ולספרות. יוצא לאור לעתים בלתי קבועות. העורכים: שלמה יודיסאן, פנחס הכהן טורבערג. . . . קבץ א (תשרי, תרס"א).

New York, 1900.

8°.

Irregular.

No more published.

המודיע לחדשים... מאשר יבוא ויקרה בין יהודי אמעריקא בנוגע
(1) להיחדות, (2) לתנועה הציונית, (3) לחנוך הבנים... יוצא לאור
בראשון לכל חדש. העורכים: הערמאן ראזענטהאל, א. ה. ראזענבערג...
שנה א"ב איז (תשרי, תרס"א-אדר, תרס"ב).

New York, 1900-02.

8°.

Monthly.

Editors: 1900-01, Herman Rosenthal and Abraham Hayyim Rosenberg; 1902, Abraham Hayyim Rosenberg only.

No more published.

See Herman Eliassof in *The Reform Advocate*, Chicago, May 27, 1916, v. 51, p. 533; Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 75; and Bernard Friedberg, *Bet Eked*, Antwerp, 1928-31, p. 346.

1901

...הלאם... מכתב עתי חדשי מקדש למדע לספרות ישראל. נערך
ויוצא לאור על ידי מ. גאלדמאן...

v. 1-7 (Aug. 1901-Oct. 30, 1908).

New York, 1901-08.

4°, f°.

Monthly, Aug. 1901-Nov. 1903; weekly, Dec. 3, 1903-Oct. 30, 1908.

Editors: Aug. 1901-July 1902, Nahum Meir Schaikewitz and Moses Goldman; Aug. 1902-Oct. 30, 1908, Moses Goldman.

v. 1 (1901-02) called Jahrg. 1-2.

v. 1, text chiefly in Judeo-German, with some articles in Hebrew.

Contains Proverbs of Sages with translation in English and comments by Moses Goldman, and Moses Reichersohn's הלכת שמוש הלשון.

Title varies: Aug. 1901-July 1902, דיא נאציאן; Aug.-Dec. 1902, דיא אירדישע נאציאן; Dec. 1902-Oct. 30, 1908, הלאם.

Supplement (Jan. 1905).

Much reading matter taken from the columns of Hebrew periodicals printed in Russia.

No more published.

See E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, New York, 1914, v. 2, p. 34-37; Isaac Werne (?) in *Haleom*, New York, Feb. 16, 1905, v. 4, no. 11, p. 3; Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 324-25; and Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 68.

... התקוה. אורגן ציוני... העורכים: ה. ל. זעליקאוויץ, צ. י. לוריא... יוצא לאור מדי שבוע בשבוע על ידי דורשי שפת עבר... שנה א, א-ה (י"ד תשרי, י"ז טבת, תרס"ב).

New York, 1901.

f°.

Weekly (irregular).

Text mainly in Hebrew with some articles in Judeo-German.

No more published.

See E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, New York, 1913, v. 1, p. 225.

1903

... הישראלי. עתון שבועי... לחדשות, למדעים, ולספרות בכל עיני בית ישראל לרוח היהדות העתיקה... שנה א, א-ה (א תמוז-כ"ט תמוז, תרס"ג).

New York, 1903.

f°.

Weekly.

Editor: Abraham Hymon Charlap.

No more published.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 62.

... בית ועד לחכמים... מקדש לתורה היהדות העתיקה וחזק דת ישראל סבא... יופיע ע"י... דוב בער אבראמאוויטץ... שנה א, א-ז ([שבט]-תמוז, תרס"ג).

New York, 1903.

8°.

Monthly.

No more published.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 21; and I. Ibn Shoshanim in *Hazefira*, Warsaw, Apr. 10, 1903, v. 30, no. 75.

1904

ילקוט מערבי. מאסף שנתי יוצא לאור ע"י אגדת אהלי שם... העורכים: הערמאן ראזענטהאל, ד"ר אדאלף מ. ראדין. שנה א (תרס"ד).

New York, 1904.

8°.

Annual.

No more published.

See E. Deinard in *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 60.

1906

*עולם קטן.

(Dec. 15, 1906-1912?).

Cleveland, 1906-12?.

Monthly.

Published by the Ivriah.

No more published.

See *American Jewish Year Book*, 5663, Philadelphia, 1907, p. 463;
and 5673, Philadelphia, 1912, p. 271.

1907

ספר זכרון שנתי המודיע פרשת פעולות האגודה אהלי שם...
(תרס"ז-תרס"ט).

New York, 1907-09.

8°.

Annual.

The *Ohole Shem* Association also published a monthly bulletin
(Dec. 1895-Jan. 1896).

Text mainly in Hebrew with some articles in English and
German.

No more published.

אספקלריא. ירחון לספרות, למדע ולכל עניני ישראל. העורך:
בן-ציון אייזנשטאדט. הוצאות „אגדת מחזיקי ספרות ישראל
באמריקה.”

שנה א, איד (שבט, תרס"ז-תרס"ח).

New York, 1907.

8°.

Monthly.

Contains many biographies of Rabbis and several historical
monographs.

No more published.

See E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, New York, 1915, v. 3, p. 38;
Daniel Persky in *Luach Achiezer*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 71;
and in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 324; and
Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 17.

1908

העם. ירחון לאמנות מדע וספרות. העורך ד"ר יצחק ווירניקובסקי...
חוברת א (ניסן, תרס"ח).

New York, 1908.

8°.

Monthly.

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 324; and E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, New York, 1915, v. 3, p. 38.

1909

*התפתחות. המערכת: א. גולדמן.

(1909).

New York ?, 1909.

Monthly.

No more published.

See Mendel Probst in *Luach Achiasaf*, Warsaw, 1923, v. 13, p. 262-63.

שבליים. יו"ל פעמים בחדש...

v. 11-7 (Jan. 30-June 20, 1909).

New York, 1909.

8°.

Bi-weekly (irregular).

Editor: M. Ben-Eliezer (Moses Glembozki).

No more published.

See Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 44; E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, New York, 1915, v. 3, p. 37-40; Daniel Persky in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 68; and in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 324.

בי דואר עברי. עתון עברי לחכמה ומדע וחדור ולכל דבר טוב ומועיל. יוצא בכל יום ו' על ידי שר בית הדוהר, יוסף זעליג גליס... (June 25, 1909-Feb. 24, 1922).

Pittsburgh, 1909-22.

f°.

Weekly.

Hebrew section in *דער פאלקספריינד*, Pittsburgh.

Previous issues contain small sections in Hebrew without a special title.

No more published.

... היום. עתון יומי...

שנה א, [ב] (כ"ט תמוז, תרס"ט-כ"א חשון, תר"ע; ח תמוז, תרע"ג-חשון, תרע"ד).

New York, 1909, 1913.

f°.

Daily except Saturdays and Jewish holidays; then 3 times a week; then bi-weekly.

Editor: Moses Goldman.

Ceased to appear in 1909 then resumed publication in 1913.

First Hebrew daily published in America.

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 71; E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, New York, 1914, v. 2, p. 37-39; Abidan in *Hed Hazman*, Wilna, Nov. 28, 1909, v. 3, no. 262, p. 2; Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 324; A. S. Orlans in *Hadoar*, New York, Dec. 19, 1930, v. 11, p. 99; and Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 46.

בשרה. יצא לאור על ידי דר. הרצל ציון קלוב . . .
(סכות, תר"ע). 4°.

New York, 1909. ports.

Published in honor of Dr. Herzl Zion Club's fifth anniversary.

Text mainly in Hebrew with some articles in English.

No more published.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 25.

1910

. . . "סנונית", (קובץ שירים). ערך ע"י ראובן בריינין (עם
הקדמה מאת הנ"ל). . . 4°.

(1910).

New York, 1910.

8°.

At head of title, "אחיעבר" ניו יורק.

Printed in Jerusalem.

See Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 330; and in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 69-70; I. D. Brenner in *Kol Kisve*, Tel-Aviv, 1930, v. 8, part 1, p. 286-87.

המצפה. עתון חדשי לתורה ולמדע ולכל עניני ישראל. יוצא לאור
על ידי . . . אברהם אהרן יודעלעוויץ . . . יעקב איסקאלסקי . . . ונערך
על ידי . . . י. איסקאלסקי . . .

חוברת א"ו (סיון, תר"ע-סיון תרע"א). 8°.

New York, 1910-11.

Monthly.

No more published.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 88; and Mendel Probst in *Luach Achiasaf*, Warsaw, 1923, v. 13, p. 264-65.

הצפיר . . .

[חוברת] א"ג (כ"ג תמוז, תר"ע-חשון, תרע"א).

New York, 1910.

f°.

Monthly.

Editor: Abraham H. Friedland.

Organ of the Dr. Herzl Zion Club.

Text mainly in Hebrew with some articles in English.

No more published.

See E. D. Coleman in "Dr. Herzl Zion Club, Keepsake," New York, 1929, p. 8; Joshua Bloch in *Hamevasser*, Constantinople, Aug. 1910, v. 1, no. 37, p. 562; E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, New York, 1913, v. 1, p. 225; and Mendel Probst in *Luach Achiasaf*, Warsaw, 1923, v. 13, p. 264-65.

פרחים. מאסף-ספרותי יוצא לאור על ידי האגודות פרחי ציון . . .
חוברת א"ב (תשרי-ניסן, תרע"א).

New York, 1910-11.

8°.

Irregular.

Editors: Samuel J. Borowsky and Joseph L. Baron.

No more published.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 111.

1911

הדרור. שבועון חברתי מדיני, ספרותי ומדעי. יוצא לאור בכל
יום ששי . . .

no. 1-15 (Sep. 1-Dec. 22, 1911).

New York, 1911.

f°.

Weekly.

Editors: Reuben Brainin, Caspar Levias and Israel Schapiro.

No more published.

See Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 44; Herman Eliassof in *The Reform Advocate*, Chicago, May 27, 1916, v. 51, p. 533; Reuben Brainin in *Hayehudi*, London, Aug. 17, 1911, v. 15, no. 31, p. 10; J. Ch. Brenner in *Kol Kisve*, Tel-Aviv, 1926, v. 6, p. 170-74; M. G—z. in *Havri*, Berlin, Oct. 6, 1911, v. 2, p. 458-59; E. R. Malachi in *Hatoren*, New York, 1914, v. 2, p. 148-54; Eliakim Pasha in *Der Groiser Kundes*, New York, Sept. 8, 1911, p. 4; Daniel Persky in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 70-71; and in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 324.

...הדבורה. ירחון עברי מקדש לספרות היפה, לבקרת ולמלין
דבריחותא... גרשון ראזענצווייג, העורך והמו"5...
שנה א, אי (א חשון-אב, תרע"ב).

New York, 1911-12.

f°.

Monthly.

First Hebrew periodical in America devoted to humor and satire.

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 71; Herman Eliassof in *The Reform Advocate*, Chicago, May 27, 1916, v. 51, p. 534; Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 324-25; and Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 28.

1912

*הרבני... ירחון רבני

(1912).

New York, 1912.

Monthly.

Editor: Rabbi T. Isaacson.

No more published (?).

See Herman Eliassof in *The Reform Advocate*, Chicago, May 27, 1916, v. 51, p. 534.

תורה וחכמה.

v. 11-5 (Feb.-June 1912).

New York, 1912.

f°.

Monthly.

Editor: Samuel Rabinowitz.

Hebrew section in *עשר וועכטער* (שומר ישראל), New York.

No more published.

See Mendel Probst in *Luach Achiasaf*, Warsaw, 1923, v. 13, p. 266-67.

*הצעיר. ירחון לבני הנעורים, בית הספר העברי, באַלטימאר, מר.
no. 1 (May, 1912).

Baltimore, 1912.

Monthly.

Organ of Hebrew Education Society.

No more published (?).

See *American Jewish Year Book*, 5673, Philadelphia, 1912, p. 269.

1913

תחית לשון. קובץ יוצא על ידי אגודת „מפצי שפת עבר וספרותה”
למאת עשר שנים לקיומה . . .

(1913).

New York, 1913.

8°.

Editor: Meyer Waxman.

See Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 330; and in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 71-72.

... תחיה. ירחון לספרות ולמדע ולאמנות... העורך... ש. צ.
זעצר...
כרך א, איז (אייר, תרע"ג-חשון, תרע"ד).

New York, 1913.

f°.

Monthly.

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 324; Achrimon in *Hazman*, Wilna, July 20, 1913, no. 161; and in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 73.

התורן. ירחון עברי. הוצאת הסתדרות „אחיעבר”, ניויורק. חברי
המערכת: אב. גולדברג, שמעון גינצבורג, ש. ב. מקסימובסקי, ב. נ.
סילקינר, דניאל פרסקי...
שנה אי"ב (סיון, תרע"ג-כסלו, תרפ"ו).

New York, 1913-25.

8°, 4°.

Monthly, June 1913-Dec. 1915; weekly, Mar. 3, 1916-Mar. 18, 1921; monthly, May 1921-Dec. 1925.

Editors: June-Dec. 1913, Abraham Goldberg, Simon Ginzburg, Shalom Baer Maximon, Benjamin Nachum Silk, and Daniel Persky; Jan. 1914, Simon Ginzburg; Feb.-Aug. 1914, Abraham Goldberg, and Benjamin Nachum Silk; Jan.-Feb., 1915, Simon Ginzburg; Mar.-Dec. 1915, Max Lipson, Samuel Max Melamed, and Daniel Persky; Mar. 3, 1916-Feb. 23, 1917, Isaac Dob Berkowitz; Mar. 2, 1917-Apr. 25, 1919, Shemariah Levin and Isaac Dob Berkowitz; May 2, 1919-July 1925, Reuben Brainin; Aug.-Dec. 1925, Reuben Brainin and Simon Bernstein.

June 1913-Dec. 1915, published by *Achieber*; Mar. 3, 1916-Mar. 28, 1919, by *Hatoren* Pub. Assn.; Apr. 4, 1919-Dec. 1921, by Zionist Organization of America; Mar. 1922-Dec. 1925, by *Safruth* Pub. Co.

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 72-76; in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 325-26;

Reuben Brainin in *Haloren*, New York, Jan. 7, 1921, v. 7, no. 41, p. 3; Herman Eliassof in *The Reform Advocate*, Chicago, May 27, 1916, p. 534; Ben Eliezer in *Haolam*, Odessa, Aug. 28, 1913, v. 7, no. 32, p. 11-12; Nathan Greenblatt in *Hed Lita*, Kovno, July 2, 1924, v. 1, no. 13, p. 15; and in *Hatekufah*, Moscow, 1918, v. 1, p. 656-64; Hamevaker in *Hazeman*, Wilna, Jan. 19-21, 1914, no. 5-7, p. 1-2; Joseph Esterman in *American Weekly Jewish News*, New York, June 14, 1918, v. 1, p. 262; Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 44-45; Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 148; A. P. in *Shacharith*, Warsaw, 1914, no. 2, p. 38; and Ch. Blochman, *ibid.*, v. 2, no. 4-5, p. 56-58.

1914

*יהודה הצעיר.

חוברת א"ה (תמוז, תרע"ד-תרע"ה).

New York, 1914.

Monthly.

Hebrew supplement to *Young Judaeon*.

Published for five months by Young Judea.

See Daniel Persky in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 77; and Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 72.

1915

הכרם. דו־ירחון מקדש לחנוך ולחיי בתי הספר העברים בניו
ענגלאנד. יוצא לאור ע"י בית ספר „עבריה“ בבוסטון. העורך ב.
הירש . . .
חוברת א"ה (תרע"ה).

Roxbury, Mass., 1915.

8°.

Bi-monthly.

No more published.

הד המורה. ירחון עברי מקדש לחנוך, למורה ולבתי-האולפנא
העברים. העורך: עקיבא פליישמאן. המו"ל: „הסתדרות המורים
העברים בארצות הברית וקנדה“ . . .
שנה א, א"ה (אדר, תרע"ה-תשרי, תרע"ו).

New York, 1915.

8°.

Monthly.

No more published.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 44; and Daniel Persky in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 77.

... אביב. שבועון מציר לבני הנעורים. יוצא בכל ערב שבת. ...
הוצאת: הסתדרות המורים העברים בארצות הברית וקנדה. העורך:
י. ז. פרישברג. ...

v. 1¹⁻¹⁶ (June–Nov. 26, 1915).

New York, 1915. illus.

f°.

Weekly.

Editors: June–Sept. 17, 1915, Wolf Frishberg; Oct. 8–Nov. 26, 1915, Board of Editors.

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 77.

האומה. שבועון עברי. הוצאת „שם ועבר” ניויורק. העורך אהרן
פרנקל, המנהל ש. זליגסון. ...

v. 1¹⁻¹⁸ (July 30–Dec. 17, 1915).

New York, 1915.

4°.

Weekly.

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 73-74; and in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 324.

... מחג'לה. קובץ לספרות היפה ולבקרת. ערוך ע"י ישראל אפרת.
חוברת איב (חג הסוכות, תרע"ו-חג הסוכות, תרע"ח).
New York, 1915-17. f°, 8°.

Three times a year, before the festivals (irregular).

no. 2, published in Baltimore.

No more published.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 78; I. D. Berkowitz in *Hatoren*, New York, Nov. 2, 1917, v. 4, no. 33, p. 2-6; Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 330; in *Hatoren*, New York, Nov. 30, 1917, v. 4, no. 37, p. 2-7; and in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 74, 79.

יגדיל תורה. מאסה שבועי לחד"ת ולפולאים בהלכה, וש"ת בפסקי
דינים. דרוש מוסר ומאמרים אודות חזוק הדת התורה והיראה. ...
v. 8-11 (Dec. 1915–Dec. 1920).

Brooklyn, N. Y., 1915-20.

8°.

Monthly, Dec. 1915–Aug. 1918; bi-monthly, Oct. 1918–Dec. 1920.

Editor: Moses Benjamin Tomashoff.

Previously published in Sluzk, 1908-11.

Ceased to appear for several years then resumed publication in Brooklyn, N. Y., in Dec. 1915.

v. 8-11, also numbered v. 1-4.

No more published.

Continued by the collection entitled: מגדל תורה.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 58.

1916

העם. שבועון עברי. הוצאת „בני חעם” ניוורק. העורך והמנהל
ש. זלינסון ...

no. 1-18 (Jan. 2-Apr. 28, 1916).

New York, 1916. illus., ports.

8°.

Weekly.

Numbered v. 2, nos. 1-18.

Much reading matter taken from Hebrew books and periodicals.

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 325; and Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 104-05.

... העברי... יוצא לאור בכל יום ששי...
שנה וי"א (ב שבט, תרע"ו וי"ו חשון, תרפ"ב).

New York, 1916-21.

4°.

Weekly.

Editor: Meir Berlin.

Previously published in Berlin, 1910-14.

Ceased to appear for two years then resumed publication in New York in 1916, as organ of the *Mizrachi* Organization of America.

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 326; and in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 76-77; Reuben Brainin in *Hatoren*, Jan. 7, 1921, v. 7, no. 41, p. 3; Editorials in *Haivri*, New York, Jan. 2, 1920, v. 10, no. 1, p. 1-2; Jan. 7, 1916, v. 6, no. 1, p. 1-2; Prospectus, New York, 1915; Ephraim Deinard in *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 101; Herman Eliassof in *The Reform Advocate*, Chicago, May 27, 1916, p. 534; and Joseph Esterman in *American Weekly Jewish News*, New York, June 14, 1918, v. 1, p. 262.

שחרות. ירחון לנערים ולנערות...

v. 1-6¹ (Apr. 1916-Apr. 1921).

New York, 1916-21. illus.

f°, 4°.

Monthly.

Editor: Zebi Scharfstein.

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 77-78; B. Friedman in *Hatoren*, New York, May 4, 1917, v. 4, no. 9, p. 12-13; Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 125; and Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 342.

1917

קונטרס מודיעין. יוצא לאור בסירוגין לתועלת בתי-הספר העברים שבאמריקה ע"י ישראל קנוביץ, מנהל משרד המדיעין על יד לשכת החנוך דקהלת ניו-יורק.

no. 1-3 (?-May 1917).

New York, 1917.

4°.

Mimeographed.

No more published ?

יורעל. ירחון מצויר לבני הנעורים. יוצא לאור על-ידי: הסתדרות "יהודה הצעיר" העורך: מנחם מ. ניימאן.
חוברת א-ג (סיון, תרע"ז-תרע"ח).

New York, 1917. illus.

No more published?

See Daniel Persky in *Luach Achieber*, New York, 1918, part 3, p. 78; and Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 72.

1918

אוצר הדרוש וההטפה... יו"ל חוברות חוברות וכל חוברת נפרד לשתי מחלקות: המחלקה הראשונה פון דער בימה, תכיל דרוש שלם בשפת יהודית... מאת... שלום ראבינאוויץ. המחלקה השניה, חומר לדרוש, תכלול אנדות חז"ל, דרושים, ביאורים, מאמרים ומשלים השייכים לענין הדרוש ההולך לפניהם. נקלטו ונערכו מאת הנ"ל...
no. 1-16 (1918-19).

Brooklyn, N. Y., 1918-19.

8°, 4°.

From time to time.

Text mainly in Judeo-German with some articles in Hebrew.

No more published.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 8.

לוח אחיעבר. ערוך על-ידי שמעון גינצבורג, ד"ר ש. מ. מלמד וצבי שארפשטיין. הוצאת "הסתדרות אחיעבר", ניו-יורק...
שנה איב (תרע"ח, תרפ"א).

New York, 1918-21.

8°.

Annual (irregular).

1921, edited by Max Lipson.

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 331; Abtalion in *Haolam*, London, Mar. 3-10, 1921, v. 10, no. 20, p. 12-13, no. 21, p. 10-11; Abraham Goldberg in *Hatoren*, New York, May 31, July 12, Aug. 9, 1918; v. 5, no. 12, p. 12-14, no. 17, p. 11-13, no. 21, p. 11-14; *Hatekufah*, Warsaw, 1919, v. 4, p. 677-79; A. Tishbi in *Mikeren Zaviv*, Detroit, 1921, p. 103-44; and Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 69.

... פרח לבנון... קובץ דרשות... לכל שבתות השנה, לר"ה, ליו"ב, סוכות, חנוכה, פורים, פסח, שבועות ולכל עניני החיים... מלוט... יוצא לאור ארבעה פעמים בשנה ע"י העורך אליעזר ליפא ווייסבלום... מדור אד (תרע"ח).

New York, 1918.

8°.

Quarterly.

No more published.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 111.

*"ספר זכרון לאליעזר בן-יהודה". קובץ למלאת ששים שנה לאליעזר בן-יהודה. . . .

(1918).

New York, 1918. port.

Editor: Reuben Brainin.

Published by the Histadruth Ivrit of America.

See Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 330-31; and Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 48.

על המפתן. יוצא לאור ע"י התלמידים המסיימים בבית תלמוד התורה אשר בעיר בלטימור... שנה א, א (ערב חג הסוכות, תרע"ט).

Baltimore, 1918.

8°

Monthly.

No more published ?

See Mendel Probst in *Luach Achiasaf*, Warsaw, 1923, v. 13, p. 268-69.

1919

... בית ספרנו. יוצא לאור בכל חודש על ידי תלמידות בית הספר הלאומי... העורכות: רבקה אברוט, שושנה אגודניצקי, דבורה כרייט-מאן, שולמית ליבמאן... שנה א, א (תרע"ט-תרפ"א).

New York, 1919-20.

8°.

Monthly.

No more published.

See Kolmon Whiteman in *Hamenahel*, New York, 1920, v. 1, no. 5-6, p. 2-4; Mendel Probst in *Luach Achiasaf*, Warsaw, 1923, v. 13, p. 270-71; and Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 22.

הירדן. ירחון לספרות, ארץ, עניינייהדות ושאלות-הזמן . . .
שנה א"ז, א"ה (תרע"ט-תרפ"ה).

New York, 1919-24.

Monthly.

Editor: Moses Leiter.

Printed in Przemyśl.

No more published.

See *American Jewish Year Book*, 5685, Philadelphia, 1924, p. 552; and Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 73.

*לוח „מגן דוד האדום". שנתון מדיצינית.

(1919).

New York, 1919.

Annual.

No more published.

See Mendel Probst in *Luach Achiasaf*, Warsaw, 1923, v. 13, p. 270-71.

*הצעיר. יוצא על ידי „צעירי ציון".
חוברת א"ב (1919).

Newburgh, N. Y., 1919.

See Kolmon Whiteman in *Hamenahel*, New York, 1920, v. 1, no. 5-6, p. 2-4; Mendel Probst in *Luach Achiasaf*, Warsaw, 1923, v. 13, p. 272-73; and Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 47.

*שפתנו. קובץ לפילולוגיה.

(1919).

New York, 1919.

No more published?

See Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 90; and Mendel Probst in *Luach Achiasaf*, Warsaw, 1923, v. 13, p. 284-85.

מקלט. יוצא אחת לחודש. העורך: י. ד. ברקוביץ. המוציא: אברהם
יוסף שטיבל . . .

כרך א"ה (תשרי, תר"ף-כסלו, תרפ"א).

New York, 1919-20.

Monthly.

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 326-27; Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 45; J. Ch. Brenner in *Kol Kisve*, Tel-Aviv, 1930, v. 8, part 2, p. 408-12; and Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 89.

תרבות. מכתב עתי לעניני החנוך, ההוראה והתנועה העברית. ערוך על ידי צבי שרפשטיין. . . הוצאת ההסתדרות העברית באמריקה. שנה א, איד (חשון-שבט, תר"ף).

New York, 1919-20.

4°.

Monthly.

No more published.

Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 148; and Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 91.

1920

... המנהל. . . יוצא פעם בחדש על ידי הלשכה העברית שעל יד מחלקת החנוך של ההסתדרות הציונית לטובת האגודות העבריות של ההסתדרות, "יהודה הצעיר", והתנועה העברית בין בני הנעורים בכלל. . . שנה א, א"ז (טבת-תמוז, תר"ף).

New York, 1920.

f°.

Monthly.

Editor: Kolmon Whiteman.

No more published.

See *American Jewish Year Book*, 5681, Philadelphia, 1920, p. 352; Mendel Probst in *Luach Achiasaf*, Warsaw, 1923, v. 13, p. 270-71; and Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 78.

1921

... הראר . . . f°.

v. 1-date (Nov. 1, 1921-date).

New York, 1921-date.

Daily, Nov. 1, 1921-Oct. 19, 1923; then weekly.

Editors: daily edition, Max Lipson; weekly edition, Menachem Ribalow.

Weekly edition, published by the *Histadruth Ivrit of America*.

See H. L. Gordon in *Sefer Havovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 84-87; Al Hadoar U'teudoso in *Hadoar*, New York, Nov. 23, 30, Dec. 7, 1928, Feb. 1929, v. 9, p. 50-51, 78, 95, 244; Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 46; Daniel Persky in *Debarenu*, Vienna, June 1930, p. 22-23; Abraham Spicehandler in *Hadoar*, New

York, 1924, v. 5, p. 25-26; Eser Shanim shel Hadoar in *Hadoar*, New York, Nov. 6, 1931, v. 12, p. 2; Ben Eliezer in *Haaretz*, Tel-Aviv, Dec. 18, 1931, v. 14, no. 3768, p. 5; Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 327-29; and Nathan Elkin in *Das Idische Folk*, New York, Nov. 11, 1927, p. 16.

... מקרת זוית. קבץ לעניני ספרות. יוצא מזמן לזמן. ... הוצאת נריה ...

[קבץ א] (אב, תרפ"א). 8°.

Detroit, 1921.

From time to time.

Editors: Bernard Isaacs and Aaron David Markson.

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 331-32; and Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 90.

1922

הנוער ...

גליון א. (ca. 1922).

New York, ca. 1922.

Published by the pupils of the National Hebrew School, New York.

Mimeographed.

No more published ?

עומץ-עלים על-קבר דוד פרישמאן, תרכ"ב-תרפ"ב. הוצאת ה"הסתדרות העברית באמריקה". . .

(1922).

New York, 1922.

12°.

Bibliography, p. 33-47.

See Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 332.

... נעורים. יוצא לאור בכל חודש על-ידי הקלוב העברי "אוהבי העם" על יד הת"ת באלבאני. . . ועד המערכת: מלכה הרשברג, גיטל הרשברג, מנחם רקמן, מנחם גרין תחת הנהלתו של מר ברנרד טשרני. . . שנה א, א (תרפ"ג).

Albany, 1922.

Monthly.

No more published ?

1923

סנסן. קבץ הסיום של בית הספר הגנה... אשר לתלמוד התורה
דמינאפוליס...
קבץ א"ג (תרפ"ג-תרפ"ו).

Minneapolis, 1923-26. illus., ports.

8°, 4°.

Annual.

Nothing published in 1925.

No more published.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, 1926, part 2, p. 99.

קדימה... (קובץ ספרותי). מופיע מזמן לזמן על ידי התלמידים
של בתי הספר (האלמנטרי והגבוה) העברים אשר במרכז העברי של
מזרח העיר ניו-יורק...
(גליון שבועות, תרפ"ג-date).

New York, 1923-date.

8°.

Published from time to time; then annually.

Text mainly in Hebrew with some articles in English.

Later issues mimeographed.

העברי הצעיר. יוצא לאור על ידי תלמידי בית-הספר „תורת משה”
... ברונקס, ניו-יורק...
גליון א (אדר, תרפ"ג).

New York, 1923.

4°.

No more published ?

סמדר. ירחון לנערים ולנערות. יוצא לאור תשע פעמים בשנה ע”י
תלמידי ביה”ס התיכוני של הת”ת המאוחדים בפילאדלפיה, פא...
שנה א, איב (תמוז, תרפ”ג-גטבת, תרפ”ד).

Philadelphia, 1923-24.

8°.

Monthly (irregular).

v. 1, no. 1, mimeographed.

v. 1, no. 2, text mainly in Hebrew with some articles in English.

נימים. מאסף לספרות יפה ולדברי בקורת. בעריכת הלל בבלי...
ספר א (קיץ, תרפ”ג).

New York, 1923.

8°.

Printed in Berlin.

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 332; and Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 80.

אפריון. ירחון לדרוש ולכל ענוני ישראל סבא... שמואל מיללער,
העורך והמוציא לאור...

v. 1-5 (Sept. 1923-28).

Yonkers, N. Y., 1923-28.

8°.

Monthly.

1923-24, printed in Hungary; 1925-28, in Roumania.

No more published.

See Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 63.

רפואה... (בשביל תלמיד־רפואה ורופאים). העורך: דר. א. א.
גולדין... הוצאת "חברת רפואה"...
ספר א (תרפ"ד).

New York, 1923.

8°.

No more published.

See Dr. F—n in *Hadoar*, New York, Mar. 7, 1924, v. 4, no. 14, p. 8-9; Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 88; and, Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, New York, 1923.

נר מערבי. מאסף לתורה וחכמת ישראל. יוצא על־ידי בני ישיבת
ר' יצחק אלחנן בני־יורק... העורכים: בן־ציון אקסלמן, היים קפלן...
כרך א־ב (כסלו, תרפ"ד־טבת, תרפ"ה).

New York, 1923-25.

8°.

Irregular.

1925, edited by Chayyim Caplan only.

See Ephraim Deinard, *Kohelet America*, St. Louis, part 2, p. 97.

...המאחד. עתון ספרותי יוצא לאור מזמן לזמן ע"י אגודת
המאחד. בעריכת מ. טרוצקי ובהשתתפותם התמידית של ב. איצקוביץ
וי. קליימן...
הוצאה א (כסלו, תרפ"ד).

New York, 1923.

4°.

Published from time to time.

Mimeographed.

No more published.

1924

תרבותנו. קבץ מאמרים ורשימות של תלמידי בית־המדרש "תרבות".
מזכרת לחג סיומם. ערוך על ידי ראובן ולינרוד, נפתלי ויזן ופנחס
ווייס...

(1924).

New York, 1924.

8°.

צפרירים. יוצא לאור ע"י המסמים של תלמוד התורה העירוני.
(1924).

Cleveland, Ohio, 1924.

8°

Published by the Cleveland Hebrew School and Institute.

לגלגל. יוצא על ידי כת הליצנים של בית הספר הגבוה „הרצליה“..
חוברת א"ב (פורים, תרפ"ד-פורים, תרפ"ה).

New York, 1924-25.

Mimeographed.

No more published.

עדן. ירחון מצויר לבני הנעורים. המוציאה: בת-שבע גראבלסקי.
העורך: דניאל פרסקי...

v. 1-2¹⁻⁵ (April 1924-Sept. 1925).

New York, 1924-25. illus.

4°.

Monthly.

Editors: April 1924-Mar. 1925, Daniel Persky; Apr.-Sept. 1925,
by Isaac Dob Berkowitz.

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 342-43; Menachen Ribalow in *Hadoar*, New York, May 9, 1924, v. 4, no. 22, p. 10-11; Editorial, in *Hadoar*, New York, Mar. 5, 1926, v. 6, no. 16, p. 2; and Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 82.

המורה... ירחון יוצא לאור על-ידי אנודת המורים בניו-יורק
וסביבותיה. העורכים: י. נ. אדלר, מ. גליק, א. לוין, י. ז. פרישברג...
שנה א, א (סיון, תרפ"ד).

New York, 1924.

8°.

Monthly.

No more published.

See G. Jekuthiel in *Hadoar*, New York, June 27, 1924, v. 4, no. 28,
p. 9-10; and Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 77.

1925

מגדל תורה. קובץ שאלות ותשובות וחידושי תורה ולבסוף גם
מאמר ספרותי מאיזה רבני וגדולי ארצנו. נערך ע"י משה בנימין
טאמאשאוו (מבי"ט)..
(1925).

New York, 1925.

4°.

יגדיל תורה Continuation of

No more published.

ניר. סבץ שנתי. יוצא לאור ע"י הסתדרות תלמידי בית המדרש
למורים אשר על יד ישיבת ר' יצחק אלחנן . . .
(תרפ"ה-date).

New York, 1925-date. illus., ports.

8°.

Annual.

Editors: 1925, Irving Novogrodsky and Benjamin Itzkowitz;
1926, Zeeb Weiner; 1927, Elijah Gold; 1928, Moses H. Kamintzky;
1929, Nahum Buchacher; 1930, Isaiah Hirschfeld; 1931, Chayyim
Abramowitz.

ספר השנה . . . של תלמידי בית המדרש למורים דבוסטון. ערוך על
ידי . . . המסיימים . . .
שנה א"ב (תרפ"ה-תרפ"ו).

Boston, 1925-26. plates.

8°.

Annual.

No more published.

See Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 81.

העברי הצעיר. יוצא על ידי „ההסתדרות הכללית" של בית הספר
הלאומי . . .
(טבת, תרפ"ה).

New York, 1925.

4°.

Editor: Benjamin Itzkowitz.

Mimeographed.

No more published ?

שבילי-החנוך. עתון פדגוגי דו-חדשי למורים ולחורים . . . העורך:
ד"ר ניסן טורוב. המו"ל: אגדת המורים העברים בניו-יורק . . .
שנה א"ה, א (סיון, תרפ"ה-תשרי, תרצ"א).

New York, 1925-30.

8°.

Bi-monthly (except July and Aug.), June 1925–Feb. 1928; monthly
(except July and Aug.), Mar. 1928–Oct. 1930.

Editors: June 1925–Feb. 1927, Nissan Touroff; Mar. 1927–Feb.
1929, Shalom Baer Maximon; Oct. 1930, Pinkhos Churgin, Samuel
Rosenfeld, and Levi Isaac Riklis.

Nothing published between Feb. 1929 and Oct. 1930.

No more published.

See Rephael Shohet in *Hadoar*, New York, Nov. 21, 1930, v. 11,
no. 3, p. 41-42; L. Charif in *Hadoar*, New York, Oct. 22, 1926, v. 6, p.
826; *ibid.*, May 11, 1928, v. 8, p. 414-15; M. Schiffman, *ibid.*, Mar.
26, 1926, v. 6, p. 346; Yanai, *ibid.*, Aug. 3, 1928, v. 8, p. 563; S. B.
Maximom in *Hadoar*, New York, July 20, 1928 v. 8, no. 4, p. 543;

Daniel Persky in *Debarenu*, Vienna, June 1930, p. 22; and in *Sefer Hayovel shel Hadoar*, New York, 1927, p. 343; A. Epstein in *Hadoar*, New York, June 19, 1925, v. 5, no. 29, p. 10-11; B. Levitzki, *ibid.*, Aug. 15, 1930, v. 10, p. 661; and Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 46-47.

בכורים. יוצא לאור ע"י מסימי בית-הספר מחזיקי תלמוד תורה
דבאר פארק. ...
שנה איה (תשרי, תרפ"ו-מרחשון, תרצ"א).

Brooklyn, N. Y., 1925-30. illus.

4°.

Irregular.

Mimeographed.

1926

החניך. יוצא מזמן לזמן על ידי חניכי בתי הספר המאוחרים של
דטרויט.
קבץ א (חשון, תרפ"ז).

[Detroit ?] 1926.

Published from time to time.

No more published?

8°.

*כרמנו. עתון תלמידים. ע"י תלמידי ביה"ם, תפארת ישראל".
(1926).

Brooklyn, N. Y., 1926.

No more published ?

See Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 74.

לוח, גואלי הארץ"...

v. 1 (1926/27).

New York, 1926. illus., maps, ports.

16°.

Annual.

Published by the Jewish National Fund on the occasion of its
25th anniversary.

הדנו. המו"ל: תלמידי ישיבת ר' יצחק אלחנן ...

v. 1-date (May 18, 1926-date).

New York, 1926-date.

f°.

Irregular.

Text mainly in Hebrew with some articles in English.

Numbering also continuuous.

With a supplement dated Dec. 9, 1927, and a special issue, entitled
אידנו, dedicated to the memory of Solomon Polachek, dated Nov.
1928.

האשגב. יוצא מומן לזמן על ידי הסתדרות התלמידים של בית המדרש למורים מיסדו של בית המדרש לרבנים, ניו יורק. . . .
v. 1-date (July 1926-date).

New York, 1926-date.

8°, f°.

Published from time to time.

Ceased to appear for two years then resumed publication in 1930.

First numbers mimeographed.

... סמדר. קובץ תלמידי בית הספר הגבוה ובית הספר למורים
„הרצליה“... העורכים חיים בסיק, יעקב אוסטרוב...
קובץ א (ראש השנה תרפ"ז).

New York, 1926.

4°.

No more published.

See Joseph Lin, *Die hebräische Presse*, Berlin, 1928, p. 80.

זיו. מאסף שנתי של המחלקות המסימות בבית-הספר העברי
הגבוה... בעריכת ברכה גרנוף, שושנה נדלר... לשכת החנוך העברי.
קונטרס א (חנוכה, תרפ"ז).

New York, 1926. illus., ports.

4°.

Annual.

No more published.

1927

רפואה... מאת א. א. גולדין... 5. מ. הרברט, ...א. גאלדנשטיין
... (בשביל תלמידי-רפואה ורופאים). העורך והמו" 5... דובער
בל"א"א בו ציון דעוואלטאף...
כרך א (תרפ"ז).

New York, 1927.

8°.

Reprint of *רפואה*, New York, 1923, with additions.

Label of D. B. DeWaltoff pasted over name of original editor
and part of original imprint.

With an introduction, and résumé and experiences with the
diseases treated in this volume, in English.

Limited edition.

See Saul Tchernichowski in *Hatekufah*, Berlin, v. 24, p. 534-37.

מחינו. יוצא ע"י בוגרי סן ניו-יורק הסתדרות „השומר הצעיר“...
no. 1 (1927?-date).

New York, 1927-date.

Mimeographed.

Published about four times a year.

Text mainly in Hebrew, with some articles in Judeo-German and
in English.

ספר היובל של הדאר. (למלאת חמש שנים לקיומו). בעריכת מנחם ריבולוב... הוצאת ה"הסתדרות העברית באמריקה"...

(1927).

New York, 1927. plates (ports.).

4°

Published as v. 7, no. 17 (Mar. 11, 1927) of the הדאר.

See M. J. Fried in *Zionistische Welt*, Warsaw, May 13, 1927, no. 8, p. 12-13; Nathan Greenblatt in *Idische Shtimme*, Kovno, May 8, 1927, no. 2294, p. 4; Seudat Re'im in *Hadoar*, New York, May 6, 1927, v. 7, p. 383; S. Rosenfeld in *Zukunft*, New York, Sept. 1927, p. 549-52; Joseph Shapiro in *Jewish World*, Cleveland, May 6, 1927; Leon Spitz in *United Synagogue Recorder*, Newark, July 1927, v. 7, no. 3, p. 17; and *Hazefirah*, Warsaw, June 3, 1927, no. 128, p. 4.

דגל ישראל. ירחון לחזק התורה והיהדות, לספרות, לשאלות ותשובות, ולכל עניני החיים על פי רוח התורה.

v. 1-4¹⁻² (Feb. 1927-May 1930).

New York, 1927-30.

4°.

Monthly.

Editor: Feb. 1927-Aug. 1928, Shmariah Loeb Hurwitz.

Text mainly in Judeo-German with some articles in Hebrew.

Published by the Federation of Orthodox Rabbis of America.

No more published.

See Georg Herlitz and Mendel Probst in Herlitz, *Jüdisches Lexikon*, Berlin, 1930, v. 4¹ (*Juedische Presse*, xvii).

... הפרדס... כולל שאלות ותשובות להלכה ולמעשה וחידושים ובאורים בדברי רבותינו... מאת גאוני וגדולי דורנו... יו"ל... מאתי שמואל אהרן הלוי פרדס...

(Apr. 1927-date).

Chicago, 1927-date.

8°.

Monthly.

Previously published in Pietrokov, 1913-14; in Bedzin, 1919-June, 1921; in Zawiercie, Aug. 1921-Mar. 1922; in Warsaw, 1922.

Ceased to appear for several years then resumed publication in Chicago in Apr. 1927 and printed in St. Louis.

בן הדור. שבועון לבני הנעורים. יוצא על-ידי ההסתדרות העברית באמריקה. בעריכת קלמן ווייטמאן (וכו')...

v. 1¹⁻⁸ (Apr. 15-June 24, 1927).

New York, 1927.

8°, 4°.

Weekly.

No more published.

See S. B. Maximon in *Hadoar*, New York, July 20, 1928, v. 8, no. 34, p. 543.

הצופה. נסיונות ספרותיים של תלמידי ותלמידות בית הספר
הלאומי...
(ראש חדש אייר, תרפ"ז).

New York, 1927.

Mimeographed.

No more published ?

4°

הרופא העברי. יוצא לאור על ידי ועד רופאים עבריים. בעריכת
ד"ר. מ. אינהורן וד"ר. א. גולדנשטיין.
כרך א, א-ב (תרפ"ח-תר"ץ).

New York, 1927-30.

1930, edited by Moses Einhorn and Leon Moses Herbert.

See Saul Tchernichowski in *Hatekufah*, Berlin, 1928, v. 24, p. 534-37; R. A. Bendove in *Hadoar*, New York, Dec. 13, 1929, v. 9, p. 110; and *Debarenu*, Vienna, June 1930, p. 21-22.

8°.

1928

צפיריים. יוצא לאור ע"י תלמידי בית הספר העברי של המרכז
העברי דפלטבוש... יוסף פיטיגוף, העורך הראשי... בעזרת המורים:
משה אדלר, ברוך ברגר...
שנה א-ב, א (תרפ"ח-תרפ"ט).

Brooklyn, N. Y., 1928-29.

Text mainly in Hebrew with some articles in English.

Mimeographed.

No more published ?

4°.

אהל מועד. מאסף לתורה ולחכמת ישראל. יוצא על ידי מחלקת
המסיימים בשנת תרפ"ז מבית המדרש לתורה אשר בשיקגו. העורכים
... עזריאל גרשטיין... קלמן מאנעלא...
כרך א (תרפ"ח).

Chicago, Ill., 1928. ports.

Text mainly in Hebrew with some articles in English.

Printed in St. Louis, Mo.

No more published?

4°.

תפארתנו. יוצא לאור על ידי תלמידי בית-תלמוד-התורה, תפארת
הגר"א...
גליון א (אלול, תרפ"ח).

Brooklyn, N. Y., 1928. ports.

No more published ?

4°.

צפרירים. ספר השנה לכבוד המחלקה המסימת בבית הספר העברי
התיכוני דשיקגו... לשכת החנוך העברי.
(סכות, תרפ"ט).

Chicago, 1928. illus., ports.

4°.

Annual.

Printed by the Monotype Press, New York.

No more published ?

1929

המסים. קובץ הסיום של הישיבה דבנסנהורסט . . .
(סיון, תרפ"ט).

New York, 1929.

8°.

... נער. ירחון מציר לנערים ולנערות... העורך: צבי שרפשטיין.
המו"ל: הסתדרות המורים והמנהלים באמריקה...
שנה א, א' (כסלו-אלול, תר"ץ).

New York, 1929-30. illus., ports.

4°.

Monthly (except July and Aug.).

No more published.

See Daniel Persky in *Debarenu*, Vienna, June 1930, p. 23; Editorial
in *Hadoar*, New York, Dec. 20, 1929, v. 9, p. 118; L. Charif in *Hadoar*,
New York, Apr. 11, 1930, v. 10, p. 399; and Jekuthiel Ginsburg in
Hadoar, New York, Apr. 11, 1930, v. 10, p. 388-89.

גליון חנוכה. יוצא לאור על ידי תלמידי בית מדרש למורים.
(1929 ?).

New York, 1929?

8°.

Editor: Dec. 1929?, Nathan Buchacher.

A number of mimeographed issues appeared previously.

1930

עולם הילדים.

v. 1 (Jan.-June 1930).

New York, 1930.

4°.

Monthly (except July and Aug.).

Editor: Samuel Shapiro.

Hebrew section in *קינרע-וועלט*, New York.

Published by the Central Committee of Jewish Folk Schools of
the Jewish National Workers Alliance and Poale Zion.

No more published.

התלמיד. יוצא לאור ע"י הסתדרות התלמידים של תלמוד תורה
תפארת הנר"א... צבי מינקוף—עורך ראשי...
שנה א, א (פסח, תר"ץ?).

Brooklyn, N. Y., 1930.

Mimeographed.

No more published?

1931

ברכה למנהיגי „בית-ישראל" לחג שנת השלושים (ה' תרס"א-ה'
תרצ"א) . . .

(1931).

Los Angeles, 1931.

f°.

Text mainly in Hebrew, with sections in Judeo-German and English.

Published by the Beth Israel Hebrew School, Los Angeles, Calif.

Added t.-p. in English.

ספר השנה ליהודי אמריקה. בעריכת מנחם ריבולוב וצבי שארפ-
שטיין. הוצאת ההסתדרות העברית באמריקה...
(1931).

New York, 1931.

8°.

Annual.

See J. J. Wohl in *Zukunft*, New York, Mar. 1932, v. 37, no. 3, p. 185-87; S. J. Feigen in *Hadoar*, New York, Aug. 21, 1931, v. 11, no. 35, p. 575-77, Sept. 4, 1931, v. 11, no. 36, p. 590-92; M. M. Zarchin in *New Palestine*, June 19, 1931, v. 20, no. 16, p. 185; Leo Shpall in *Jewish Ledger*, New Orleans, Dec. 25, 1931, p. 16, 18; and *Jewish Classical and Philosophical Magazine*, Aug. 1931, p. 11.

הרצליון. ועד המערכת: יצחק קרל, א. סמיטה, צ. רוצקא. יוצא
לאור על ידי ובעד תלמידי „הרצליה". . .
חוברת א (תרצ"א).

New York, 1931.

4°.

Mimeographed.

No more published.

ירחון עברי קלסי ופילוסופי, אידיש-קלאסישער און פילאזאפישער
זשורנאל. א מאנאטשריפט אין דריי שפראכען פאר אידיש-קלאסישער
און אלוועלטליכער ליטעראטור, פילאזאפיע, מיסטיק, קונסט, פילאזא-
פיע פון געשיכטע, רעליגיע און געזעץ... אבא י. קרים, גרינדער,
ארויסגעבער און רעדאקטאר.
יאהרגאנג א, איג (יולי-סעפטעמבער, 1931).

Newark, 1931. ports.

Monthly.

No more published ?

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE PERIODICALS GIVING
YEAR UNDER WHICH THEY ARE ENTERED.

ה	א
1871 חדשות ישראליות.	1915 אביב.
1926 החניך.	1928 אהל מועד.
י	1915 האומה.
1915 יגדיל תורה.	1918 אוצר הדרוש וההטפה.
1914 יהודה הצעיר.	1894 אוצר החכמה.
1909 היום.	1901 אידישע נאציאן.
1917 יזרעאל.	1926 אידנו.
1904 ילקוט מערבי.	1894 האמת.
1919 הירדן.	1907 אספקלריא.
ירחון עברי קלסי ופילוסופי.	1923 אפריון.
1931	1926 האשגב.
1903 הישראלי.	ב
כ	1909 בי דואר עברי.
1915 הכרם.	1903 בית ועד לחכמים.
1926 כרמנו.	1919 בית ספרנו.
ס	1925 בכורים.
1901 הלאם.	1927 בן הדור.
1888 הלאמי.	1931 ברכה ל . . .
1924 לגלג.	1909 בשרה.
1918 לוח אחיעבר.	ג
1926 לוח „גואלי הארץ“.	1929 גליון חנוכה.
1919 לוח „מגן דוד האדום“.	ד
מ	1921 הדאר.
1923 המאחד.	1911 הרבורה.
1881 המאסף.	1927 דגל ישראל.
1925 מגדל תורה.	1911 הדרור.
1900 המודיע לחדשים.	ה
1894 Goldman. המורה.	1915 הד המורה.
1924 Adler, etc. המורה.	1926 הדנו.
1894 המזרת.	1877 היכל העבריה.
1915 מתן לחנ.	1931 הרצליון.
1927 מחיננו.	1909 התפתחות.
1920 המנהל.	ז
1929 המסים.	1926 זיו.
1900 מעת לעת.	1907 ספר זכרון.
1910 המצפה.	1895 הזמן.

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|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| העם. Seligson. 1916 | מקלט. 1919 |
| עץ הדעת. 1896 | מקורן זוית. 1921 |
| פ | נ |
| הפסגה. 1889 | נאציאון. 1901 |
| הפרדס. 1927 | הנוער. 1922 |
| פרח לבנון. 1918 | נימים. 1923 |
| פרחים. 1910 | ניר. 1925 |
| צ | נעורים. 1922 |
| הצופה. 1927 | נער. 1929 |
| הצופה בארץ החדשה. 1871 | נר המערבי. Rosenberg, etc. 1895 |
| הצופה בארץ נור. 1880 | נר מערבי. Axelman. 1923 |
| ציון. 1893 | |
| הצעיר. Baltimore. 1912 | ד |
| הצעיר. Newburgh. 1919 | סמדר. Philadelphia. 1923 |
| הצפיר. 1910 | סמדר. New York. 1926 |
| צפירים. Cleveland. 1924 | סנונית. 1910 |
| צפירים. Chicago. 1928 | הסניגור. 1890 |
| צפירים. Brooklyn, N. Y. 1928 | סנסן. 1923 |
| ק | ספר זכרון לבן-יהודה. 1918 |
| קדימה. Rosenzweig. 1899 | ספר זכרון שנתי. 1907 |
| קדימה. Center of the East Side | ספר היוכל של הראר. 1927 |
| Jewish. 1923 | ספר השנה. Boston. 1925 |
| הקול. 1889 | ספר השנה ליהודי אמריקה. 1931 |
| קול מעיר. 1889 | ספרת ציון. 1899 |
| קול הסניגור. 1890 | ע |
| קול העת. 1889 | העברי. Rosenzweig. 1892 |
| קומץ-עלים. 1922 | העברי. Berlin. 1916 |
| קונטרס מודיעין. 1917 | העברי הצעיר. Torath Moses |
| קרן אור. 1889 | 1923. Talmud Torah |
| ר | העברי הצעיר. Hebrew School |
| הרבני. 1912 | 1925. National |
| הרופא העברי. 1927 | הערות. 1887 |
| רפואה. Goldin. 1923 | עדות לישראל. 1887 |
| רפואה. DeWaltoff. 1927 | עדן. 1924 |
| ש | עולם הילדים. 1930 |
| שבילי החנוך. 1925 | עולם קטן. 1906 |
| שבילים. 1909 | על המפתח. 1918 |
| | העם. Werne. 1908 |

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|------|----------|------------|------|-----------------|
| 1913 | New York | תחיה. | 1916 | שחרות. |
| 1913 | | תחית לשון. | 1919 | שפתנו. |
| 1930 | | התלמיד. | | |
| 1928 | | תפארתנו. | ת | |
| 1901 | | התקוה. | 1912 | תורה וחכמה. |
| 1919 | | תרבות. | 1913 | התורן. |
| 1924 | | תרבותנו. | 1899 | התחיה. Chicago. |

PLAYS OF JEWISH INTEREST ON THE AMERICAN STAGE, 1752-1821.

BY EDWARD D. COLEMAN, A. B.

Between 1584, the publication date of R. W.'s *Three ladies of London*,¹ the first English play in which one of the dramatis personæ is designated to be a Jew (*Gerontus*), and the year 1821, when Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* was first produced in this country, eighty plays of Jewish interest have either been produced on the English stage, or published but never staged. In arriving at this figure of eighty, the following classes of plays have been disregarded: those based on the Holy Scriptures, the Apocrypha, and Josephus; ² lost plays, such as Richard Brome's *The Jewish gentleman*; doubtful Jewish plays,³ *i. e.*, plays in which certain of the characters may or may not have been intended by the dramatist to be represented as a Jew, as, *e. g.*, *Security* in George Chapman's *Eastward Hoe* (1605), or *Morecraft* in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The scornful lady* (1616); mention plays,⁴ *i. e.* plays in which there are no

¹ See J. Payne Collier, "Jews in our Early Plays," in *Athenaeum*, 1850, p. 475-476; E. D. Goitein, "A Stage Jew of the XVI Century," in *Jewish Chronicle*, London, Supplement July, 1923, p. vii. A much earlier play of Jewish interest is the *Croxton play of the sacrament*. This drama was written in the second half of the fifteenth century, probably not long after 1461, the date given in the colophon of its alleged occurrence. It is based on the contemporary belief of the Jewish desecration of the Host. Five Jews, a main villain and four conspirators, are named—Jonathas, Jasdan, Jason, Masphat and Malchus. See *The play of the sacrament* in *Saturday Review*, London, 1862, v. xiii, p. 159-161.

² See E. D. Coleman, "The Bible in English Drama," New York, 1931.

³ See J. L. Cardozo, "The Contemporary Jew in Elizabethan Drama," Amsterdam, 1925, p. 70-71.

⁴ C. Mabon, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, London, v. xi, p. 411-430; E. N. Calisch, in his "The Jew in English Literature as Author and

Jewish characters but in which something is said about the Jews or Judaism by one or more of the dramatis personæ, such as Ben Jonson's *Everyman in his humour* (1597) or the anonymous *Jack Drum's entertainment* (1601).

Of these eighty plays up to 1821, twenty-eight reached the American stage.

The first one, as one would naturally expect, was Shakespeare's *The merchant of Venice*. William Dunlap is responsible for the statement that it was the first play to be produced professionally in this country.⁵ Although he himself later cor-

as Subject," Richmond, 1909; and J. M. Landa, in his "The Jew in Drama," London, 1926, have assembled forty-five such plays dating before the nineteenth century. I know of at least two dozen more, which I intend to describe elsewhere. It is not inappropriate at this point to record a mention of Jews in a very early American play,—*A cure for spleen*, Boston, 1775, by the Massachusetts Tory, Jonathan Sewall, 1728-1796, a copy of which exists at the New York Public Library. *Sharp*, the country parson, speaking to *Trim*, the barber, bids him consider all the rights and privileges which Americans enjoy, more so than the native Englishmen. He bids him cease "complaining like the grumbling, rebellious Jews of old, that you will exclaim with the most gratified effusion of soul 'The lines are fallen to us in pleasant places, yea, we have a goodly heritage.'" Later on the Tory parson continues "The description given of the Jews by Mr. Dryden suits us so very nearly that I cannot help repeating it—The Jews, a head-strong, moody, murm'ring race. . . ." See also Perley I. Reed, "The Realistic Presentation of American Characters in Native American Plays Prior to Eighteen Seventy," Columbus, Ohio, 1918, p. 23.

⁵ See Chas P. Daly, "First Theatre in America," New York, 1896 (Dunlap Society. Publ., n. s., No. 1), p. 1-2. To commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the introduction of the drama in America, a "grand spectacle" was held, Sept. 6, 1852, at Castle Garden, New York, in aid of the American Dramatic Fund, "embracing the first talent in the United States." Besides *The merchant of Venice* and Garrick's *Lethe* as an after-piece (the Williamsburg bill of a hundred years earlier), all the celebrities of the time made their appearance—Lola Montez, French dancers from Niblo's Garden,

rected this error, it was for many years accepted as true. In 1750, William Hallam, manager of Goodman's Field Theatre, London, failed. After he was discharged from bankruptcy, and in order to recoup his fortunes, he assembled a company of twelve actors and, with his brother Lewis Hallam in charge, shipped them off to America. They brought with them a repertoire of twenty-four plays consisting of an equal number of regular dramas and farces or pantomimes to serve as after-pieces. In May 1752 they arrived at Yorktown, Va. They chose the Cavalier South rather than the Puritan North because they believed that in the South their theatrical ventures would probably not be opposed. They proceeded to Williamsburg, then the capital of the colony, and obtained Governor Dinwiddie's permission to fit up a building for a theatre. There, Sept. 15, they staged *The merchant of Venice*. Mr. Malone played *Shylock*; Mrs. Hallam, *Portia*; and Miss Hallam, *Jessica*.⁶ Nothing is known about the quality of the production beyond the facts here given. Dunlap surmised that George Washington, then Major Washington, probably witnessed the play, since he lived then near by.⁷ In later years, Lewis Hallam performed before Washington many times during his presidency. I give additionally several other early stagings of *The Merchant of Venice*. Douglass produced it at Annapolis, May 8, 1760. The American Company, first organized as such, at its newly opened Southwark Theatre in Philadelphia, pre-

a comic ballet pantomime, dances by Senorita Louise, "nightingale" waltz by Mons. Gilles, Mr. Augustus Braham, and others. The entertainment lasted from seven till after midnight.

⁶ George C. D. Odell, "Annals of the New York Stage" v. i, p. 52, quotes an advertisement in which Mrs. Rigby is announced as *Jessica*.

⁷ "It is impossible to discover if Washington was present at this opening night, there being no evidence either for or against it. It is almost certain, however, that he witnessed some performances, for the company continued eleven months 'before we thought of removing.'" Paul L. Ford, in his "Washington and the Theatre," New York, 1899 (Dunlap Society. Publ., n.s., No. 8), p. 14.

sented it, June 22, 1767, with Lewis Hallam as *Shylock*, Miss Cheer as *Portia*, John Henry as *Tubal*, and Miss Wainwright as *Jessica*. The same company and the same cast gave it in New York, Jan. 28, 1768.⁸ Charleston, S. C., saw it, Jan. 29, 1774.⁹

The remaining twenty-seven English plays are as follows: Macklin's *Love a la mode*, Cumberland's *The fashionable lover*, Foote's *Devil upon two sticks*, Sheridan's *The duenna* and *School for scandal*, Mrs. Cowley's *Belle's strategem*, O'Keefe's *Little hunchback* and *The young Quaker*, Cumberland's *The Jew*, Morton's *Zorinski*, O'Keefe's *The London hermit*, Franklin's *The Wandering Jew*, Kotzebue's *Lovers' vows* and *Self immolation*, Dibdin's *Liberal opinions*, Cobb's *House to be sold*, Colman's *Love laughs at locksmiths*, Hook's *The invisible girl*, Dibdin's *The Jew and the doctor*, Kenney's *Ella Rosenberg*, *The magpie and the maid* by an anonymous author, Allingham's *Transformation*, Tobin's *The guardian*, Milner's *The Jew of Lubeck*, Moncrieff's *Rochester*, *Ivanhoe* by an anonymous author, and Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*. They are arranged here chronologically, by dates of American production, which do not altogether tally chronologically with the dates of their original London productions.

Besides these twenty-eight importations, there were presented in America three plays, written by Americans, and never staged on the other side, viz., Mrs. Rowson's *Slaves in Algiers*, 1794, Dunlap's *Bonaparte in England*, 1803, Ellison's *The American captive*, 1812, and an American group of recitations, New York, 1802. These are also arranged and described in their proper chronological place.

* "By permission of His Excellency, the Governor. By the American Company. At the Theatre in John Street, this evening, will be presented a play, written by Shakespeare, called *The Merchant of Venice* To which will be added a new pantomime—*The Witches*. To conclude with a country dance, by the characters. Boxes 8 s. Pit 6 s. Gallery 3 s." *New York Journal*, Jan. 28, 1768.

⁹ See Eola Willis, "The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century," Columbia, S. C., 1924.

Charles Macklin's *Love a la mode*. London, Dec. 12, 1759.

An English squire, a Scotch nobleman, an Italian Jew, *Beau Mordecai*, and an Irish soldier are suitors to the hand of a wealthy girl. The Irishman, the true lover, wins the girl. It was produced in America, at the John Street Theatre, New York, May 13, 1768, with Owen Morris as *Mordecai*; at Philadelphia, Southwark Theatre, Nov. 4, 1768; at Charleston, S. C., Jan. 19, 1774. During the season of 1779-1780 it was staged by the "Clinton Thespians" at the Theatre Royal. Denis Ryan produced it in a post-season performance at the John Street Theatre Aug. 20, 1783. It held the stage for many years. An Albany, N. Y., production is recorded, Jan. 20, 1786, and another in Annapolis, Nov. 16, 1786.^{9a}

Richard Cumberland's *The fashionable lover*. London, Jan. 20, 1772.

The usual disagreeable type of stage-Jew is introduced in the person of *Naphtali*. Seilhamer, judging from an announcement of this play, dated May 7, 1772, Williamsburg, Va., says that it was probably produced there, on that date, for the first time in America, by the American Company. It was seen in Philadelphia, at the Southwark Theatre during the season of 1772-73, with Mr. Wall as *Naphtali*, Nov. 30, 1772, and March 8, 1773. It was played at Charleston, S. C., March 7, 1774, and was staged in New York, June 2, 1781, by the British garrison.¹⁰

Samuel Foote's *Devil upon two sticks*. London, May 31, 1768.

^{9a} It was not published in America till 1823. *Love a-la-mode*; a comedy. In two acts. By Charles Macklin. As performed at the Philadelphia Theatre. Philadelphia: Published by Thomas H. Palmer, 1823. 38 p., 1 l. 24°. A cast, unidentifiable as to place and date, is given, with Francis as Mordecai. Copy at the New York Public Library and in the compiler's library.

¹⁰ The military actors promised it for June 2, but it is not certain whether it was actually produced then. Professionally it was first seen in New York, June 6, 1787.

This, based upon Le Sage's *Diabole boiteux*, is a play satirizing the medical profession. Its topicalness was made the more so by the violent dispute, in 1766 and 1767, between the governing board and the licentiates of the Royal College of Physicians, London, in which the eminent Jewish physician, Isaac Schomberg, 1714-1780, son of Dr. Meyer Löw Schomberg, took a leading part. Among a group of doctors one is named *Habakkuk*, and from the words put into his mouth it is evident that Foote meant him to be represented as a Jew. The prototypes of many of the dramatis personæ have been identified,¹¹ and that of *Habakkuk* is certain to have been Isaac Schomberg. All sects and nationalities are poked fun at, in the favorite fashion of Foote—the Scotch, the Irish, the Methodists and the Quakers, as well as the Jews. It was first produced in Jamaica by the American Company, Oct. 30, 1779, and in Baltimore, by Lindsay and Wall, Oct. 15, 1782. Dennis Ryan staged it in New York, July 5, and Sept. 13, 1783; Hallam and Allen players, at the John Street Theatre, Sept. 27, 1785, and May 8, 1786. None of the casts reveal the actor who played *Habakkuk*. An interlude from the play, called *Dr. Last's examination before the College of Physicians*, was given by the Kenna family troupe, playing as the New American Company, at Annapolis, Feb. 17, 1790.

Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *The duenna*.¹² London, Nov. 21, 1775.

¹¹ See Mary M. Belden, "The Dramatic Works of Samuel Foote," New Haven, 1929 (Yale Studies in English, No. 80), p. 125-131.

¹² Landa, quoting S. A. Hirsch's "Book of Essays," 1905, p. 272-273, tells that Myer Leoni, hazan of the Bevis Marks Synagogue, sang the part of *Don Carlos* in this operetta. Originally he was to have had the part of *Moses*, but from consideration that this rôle would apply too personally to him he was given the part of *Carlos*. Leoni, or Lyon, later emigrated to Jamaica. See also *Westminster Magazine*, London, 1777, vol. v., p. 286; and M. Wollman, "Some Notes on Sheridan, 'The Duenna,' and Isaac Mendoza," in *Jewish Chronicle*, London, Supplement, June, 1927, p. vii-vii.

First produced in Jamaica, Nov. 27, 1779, and revived there, March 11, 1780, with T. Wignell as *Issac Mendoza*. Under the title of *Elopement*, it was brought out at Charleston, Harmony Hall, Oct. 10, 1786, with Mr. Goodwin as *Mendoza*. The American Company, with Wignell again as *Mendoza*, produced it in New York, June 1, 1787; in Philadelphia, July 7; and in Baltimore, Sept. 5, 1787.

R. B. Sheridan's *The school for scandal*. London, May 8, 1777.

This classic English comedy contains a minor Jewish character, *Moses*. It was first produced in Jamaica, by the American Company, May 26, 1781, with Mr. Moralis as *Moses*. In the United States it was first seen in Baltimore, Feb. 3, 1784, in a production headed by Dennis Ryan, who played the Jewish part. In New York it was first staged professionally, Dec. 12, 1785.¹³ Other productions are too numerous to be given. Seilhamer records no less than fifty-five revivals between 1785 and 1797.^{13a}

¹³ See, however, Odell, *supra*, vol. i, p. 219-220, "May we then assume with some degree of confidence that this, the most brilliant of all the comedies, actually was first performed in New York on the night of April 15, 1782?" Whether the part of *Moses* in the New York production was played by Mr. Kenna or Mr. Ryan, or by both, during the season of 1785-86, see *ibid.*, p. 239-240. Neither Seilhamer for Baltimore nor Odell for New York could locate a contemporary review of the first production.

^{13a} I give here the two earliest American editions. *The Real and Genuine School for Scandal*; a comedy. By Brinsley Sheridan. Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1782. 64 p. 8°. Title from Sabin, "A Dictionary of Books Relating to America," item 80343. Copy at the Library Company of Philadelphia. The second is *The school for scandal*; a comedy. By Richard Brinsley Sheridan, esq. Perform'd with universal applause at the Theatre in New-York. From a manuscript copy in the possession of John Henry . . . New-York: Printed by Hugh Gaine, at the Bible in Hanover-Square, 1786. (M. DCC, LXXX, VI) 86 p., 1 l. 16°. Copy at the Library of Congress. There are numerous slight variations in the text from the authorized English editions.

Mrs. Hannah Cowley's *Belle's stratagem*. London, Feb. 22, 1780.

This was the first play seen in America in which occurs the favorite device, inaugurated by John Webster in his *The devil's law case*, 1618, of a Christian character in a play disguising himself as a Jew, usually for some sinister purpose.¹⁴ It was first produced at Kingston, Jamaica, Dec. 8, 1781, with Morris as *Hardy* (in Jewish disguise). The American Company, which produced it in Jamaica, first presented it in New York, under Hallam and Henry, June 12, 1786, and kept it on the boards for many seasons. Baltimore saw it, Sept. 24, 1790.^{14a}

John O'Keefe's *Little hunchback; or, A frolic in Bagdad*. London, Apr. 14, 1789.

This is probably the earliest English intermarriage play, farcically represented. The Jewish characters are *Zebede*, described as a purveyor, and his nephew, *Absalom*, a barber. Presented for the first time in America at the Southwark Theatre, Philadelphia, May 27, 1791, by the American Company, with Mr. Martin as *Absalom*. In New York it was produced at the John Street Theatre, by the same company, Dec. 14, 1791, and by the Alexander Placide troupe, at the same theatre, Apr. 13, 1792.

¹⁴ The insulting remarks, addressed to *Hardy* by a masquerader (Act IV, sc. 1), are usually believed to refer to Sampson Gideon, 1699-1762, famous English financier. This is not the Sampson Gideon mentioned by S. Oppenheim in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 20, p. 112.

^{14a} The first American edition appeared in Boston, 1794. *The belle's stratagem*; a comedy. By Mrs. Cowley. With alterations and amendments. As performed at the New Theatre, in Boston. Printed at the Apollo Press, in Boston, for David West, No. 36, Marlboro' Street, and John West, No. 75, Cornhill, 1794. 73 p. 16°. Copy at the Library of Congress and Harvard College Library. The imprint of the Harvard College copy is somewhat different. It reads: Printed at the Apollo Press, in Boston, for John West, No. 75, Cornhill, 1794.

John O'Keefe's *The young Quaker*. London, July 26, 1783.

The Jewish character in this play is *Shadrach Boaz*, "the most repugnant stage Jew of the century, without a redeeming feature . . . a comic, cowardly villain who epitomized what had gone before, standardized it afresh, and fashioned an 'improved type' for subsequent dramatists to copy slavishly."¹⁵ This play is of further interest to us, since O'Keefe represents *Shadrach* as having come to London from America. It was first produced in America by the Old American Company, in New York, May 12, 1794, with Mr. Hammond as *Shadrach*, and repeated there, June 9, 1794. In Philadelphia, where the play was given the additional sub-title *The fair Philadelphian*, it was staged at the Southwark Theatre, Sept. 26, 1794, and was repeated many times during that season,¹⁶ with Mr. Hammond or John Martin in the rôle of *Shadrach*.¹⁷ In Boston, it was seen, Feb. 13, and Feb. 18, 1795. On Feb. 16, 1796, it was produced by Sollee's Charleston Company, at Charleston, S. C., with Mr. Miller as *Shadrach*.

In this country it was first printed in 1794,^{17a} under its original title. Its popularity led to its being reprinted with an American title, *The fair American; or, The young Quaker*, in

¹⁵ Landa, *supra*, p. 121.

¹⁶ Oct. 1, Nov. 5, Dec. 4, 1749, and Feb. 4, and Apr. 17, 1795. The performance of Dec. 4th at Philadelphia was witnessed by George Washington. Paul L. Ford, in his "Washington and the Theatre," New York, 1899, (Dunlap Society Publications, new ser., No. 8), p. 14, reproduces the advertisement of that day in *Aurora*—"We are happy to announce that the President of the United States means to honor the Old Company with his presence at the Theatre this evening." That evening's play was for the benefit of Mr. and Mrs. Hallam.

¹⁷ "Mr. Martin's Jew was excellent and merited the applause which it received," *New York Magazine*, Feb., 1795, p. 66.

^{17a} *The young Quaker; a comedy*. As performed at the Theatre-Royal, Smoke-Alley, and by the Old American Company. Philadelphia: Printed by Thomas Bradford, No. 8, South Front-Street, 1794. 62 p., 1 l. 24°. Evans 27448. Copy at the New York Public Library.

1823.^{17b} As such it was seen at Alexandria, Va., Nov. 26, 1817, and May 4, 18, Sept. 21, 1818; at Washington, D. C., July 16, 1818, and Sept. 13, 1821.

Mrs. Susanna (Haswell) Rowson's *Slaves in Algiers; or, A struggle for freedom*. Philadelphia, 1794.^{17c}

From 1785 to the autumn of 1793, when Washington called the attention of Congress to the necessity of a navy, the Barbary pirates had captured fifteen American vessels and made 180 officers and seamen slaves,—a condition which continued, despite the Tripolitan War of 1801-1805, up to 1815. These difficulties, humiliating to the new republic and evoking much discussion in and out of Congress, soon found an author to dramatize them on the stage. The dramatist in question was Mrs. Rowson, who, although not born in this country, spent the larger part of her life here, and is known as the author of *Charlotte Temple*, actress, dramatist, educator, and early advocate of women's rights. Her play is the first American dramatic composition containing a Jewish character, albeit a renegade Jew, converted to Islam. In her creation of this character she followed her dramatic predecessors and made him a thorough scoundrel, as befitted then the treatment of the Jew on the stage, and created a model for future imitators. In the *Preface* to the printed text she states "Some part of the plot is taken from the story of the Captive, related by Cervantes, in *Don Quixote*, the rest is entirely the offspring of my fancy." Further on she tells that the printed version had been changed since the first performance, and adds

^{17b} *The fair American; or, The young Quaker*. In five acts. By John O'Keefe, esq. Philadelphia: Published by Thomas H. Palmer, 1823. 63 p. 16°. Copy at the Library of Congress and New York Public Library.

^{17c} *Slaves in Algiers; or, A struggle for freedom: A play, interspersed with songs, in three acts*. By Mrs. Rowson. As performed at the New Theatres in Philadelphia and Baltimore. Philadelphia: Printed for the author, by Wrigley and Berriman, No. 149, Chestnut-Street. M, DCC, XCIV. 2 p. 1., ii p., 1 l., [5]-72 p., 1 l. 12°.

a "moral" justification for her effort, in the approved style of those days, "It has been my endeavour to place the social virtues in the fairest point of view, and hold up, to merited contempt and ridicule, their opposite vices."¹⁷⁴

In act I, scene 1, *Fetnah*, one of the ladies of the court, described as a Moriscan woman, when asked the reasons of her aversion for the Moorish manners, replies "I was not born in Algiers, I drew my first breath in England; my father *Ben Hassan*, as he is now called, was a Jew. I can scarcely remember our arrival here, and have been educated in the Moorish religion." In act I, scene 2, appears *Rebecca Constant*, an American woman, as the slave of *Ben Hassan*. Ransom has come for her, but *Ben Hassan* hides this fact from her and proposes to her in marriage. She spurns him. Enters *Frederic*, who had already been ransomed, addresses him "My little Israelite," and offers him 2000 sequins to purchase a vessel, hide the captive Americans in a cavern, and later to quit the country. *Ben Hassan* accedes but means to betray him. When asked "How came you to put on the turban?" *Ben Hassan* answers in a song of five stanzas. He describes himself as forger and crook of all sorts, and "So, having cheated the Gentiles, as Moses commanded, Oh! I began to tremble at every gibbet that I saw, But I got on board of a ship, and here was safely landed, In spite of the judges, counselors. . . ." In a note to this song, in the printed text, it is stated that it was not written by Mrs. Rowson. In act II, scene 2, *Frederic* meets *Ben Hassan* while the latter is about to betray him to the Algerian Dey, scares him away by telling him that the Dey intends to bastinado him for some offence, and exacts from him a promise of fulfilling the original bargain. In act III, *Ben Hassan*, disguised as a woman, guides

¹⁷⁴ For a biography of our author, her theatrical career, full bibliographical notes, auction records and locations of copies of the present play, see Robert W. G. Vail, "Susanna Haswell Rowson, the Author of *Charlotte Temple*; a Bibliographical Study," in *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, 1932, new ser., v. xlii, p. 47-90, 144.

the fleeing American captives and himself to the coast, whence they intend to sail away.

George O. Seilhamer¹⁷⁰ records the following productions: at the New Theatre, Philadelphia, June 30, 1794, to the music composed by Reinagle, with Francis as *Ben Hassan* and Mrs. Marshall as *Fetnah*; repeated there, Dec. 22, 1794; at Baltimore, Dec. 26, 1795; at Boston, Jan. 8, 1796, with Prigmore as *Ben Hassan* and Mrs. Cleveland as *Fetnah*; at the John Street Theatre, New York, May 9, 1796;¹⁷¹ at Hartford, Conn., Aug. 24, 1796; and again at Boston, May 3, 1797. In the following century it was seen at the Boston Theatre, for the first time in nineteen years, April 17, 1816, and repeated there, May 27, 1816.¹⁷² Seilhamer calls it "a turgid drama . . . the style was wretched, the dramatic quality tawdry and the sentiment strained and stilted."¹⁷³ Prof. Arthur H. Quinn¹⁷⁴ speaks not unkindly of it.

Richard Cumberland's *The Jew*. London, May 8, 1794.

This philo-Jewish play served in England the same purpose which Lessing's *Nathan the wise* wrought upon the continent. Both were first attempts to vindicate and idealize the Jewish character in the world's dramatic literature, and to ring down the curtain on the mediæval age of the dramatists' delineation of the Jew upon the stage.¹⁷⁵ In it Cumberland

¹⁷⁰ In his "History of the American Theatre," Philadelphia, 1891, 3 v., *passim*.

¹⁷¹ Odell, *supra*, v. i, p. 411, states that he can supply no cast for this production. The cast given in the printed text is that of the first Philadelphia production of June 30, 1794.

¹⁷² For the information about the 1816 stagings I am indebted to Miss Fay Slobod of Chicago, who advises me that she found it in the University of Chicago Library in a volume entitled "Boston Advertisements," p. 238, 240.

¹⁷³ *Supra*, v. iii, p. 155-156.

¹⁷⁴ In his "A History of the American Drama, from the Beginning to the Civil War," New York and London, 1923, p. 121-123.

¹⁷⁵ See Louis Zangwill, "Richard Cumberland Centenary Memorial Paper," in *Jewish Historical Society of England, Transactions*, vol.

atoned for *Naphtali* in his *The fashionable lover* and pre-saged *Nadab* in his *The Jew of Mogadore*.¹⁹ It was first seen in Boston, Dec. 19, 1794, with Hipworth as *Sheva* and Villiers as *Jabal*, and revived there, Dec. 24, 29, 1794, and Jan. 2, 21, Feb. 16, May 13, 1795; again at the Boston Theatre under Col. John S. Tyler, Feb. 15, and Mar. 14, 1796; during the season of 1796-97, under Williamson, Feb. 17, 1797, with Williamson as *Sheva*; and at the Boston Haymarket, under Chas. S. Powell, Jan. 9, 1797. Wignell and Reinagle staged it in Philadelphia, Feb. 11, 1795, with Wignell as *Sheva* and Harwood as *Jabal*, and revived it during the season of 1795-96, Aug. 1, Sept. 19, Nov. 4, Dec. 30, and Apr. 2. In New York, Hallam and Hodgkinson brought it out Feb. 25, 1795, and repeated it, March 4,²⁰ and 23. Hodgkinson played *Sheva*; Hallam, *Jabal*. During the season of 1796-97, the old American Company again produced it, March 21, and another rival company, at the Greenwich Theatre, Sept. 30, with John Bernard as *Sheva*. Solec's Charleston Company brought it to Charleston, S. C., Nov. 24, 1795, with Mr. Jones as *Jabal*.

vii, p. 147-179; L. I. Newman, "Richard Cumberland, Critic and Friend of the Jews," New York, 1919; and M. J. Landa, "The Jew in Drama," London, 1926, p. 128-142.

¹⁹ Produced in London, May 3, 1808. Never staged in this country.

²⁰ A review, probably by Dunlap, of the March 4 production reads in part; "The idea of vindicating the Jews and bringing forward on the stage a kind of white Shylock is certainly a very happy one, but why Mr. Cumberland has chosen to throw together such incongruities as make up the character of *Sheva* we cannot tell, unless the miserly traits of the Jew's character are introduced to give rise to *Jabal's* jokes We must confess that these are, in our opinion, very starved kind of witticisms. The serious part of the comedy is certainly deserving of praise. Mr. Hodgkinson's *Sheva* was, in our eyes, without fault Mr. Hallam's excellence in such parts as *Jabal* is too well known to need comment." *New York Weekly Magazine*, March, 1795, p. 129. The serious part here referred to is, of course, Cumberland's effort regarding the Jews, such as he had attempted before in his *The fashionable lover*, on behalf of the Scotch, and in his *The West Indian*, on behalf of the Irish.

Joseph B. Harper's Rhode Island Company played it at Providence, June 13, 1796, with Mr. Williamson as *Sheva*. Hallam, Hodgkinson, & Dunlap brought it to Hartford, Conn., Aug. 1, 1796. It continued to be revived throughout the nineteenth century. Odell²¹ mentions *Der Jude* acted on May 10, 1858, at Mitchell's Hotel, Union Hill; again "neu bearbeitet von Carl Seydelmann" at Lindenmüller's Odeon, 49 Bowery, Oct. 1, and 4, 1858, with Eduard Wissig as *Shewa*; and at Eustachi's New-Yorker Volks-Theater, Fourth Street, Oct. 28, 1859, with Volkland as *Shewa*, "der edle Jude." In our own days, in this country, it was revived, in an abridged version by Ernestine P. Franklin, by the Confirmants Club of the Bronx Free Synagogue, New York, June 15 (or July 15) and Nov. 1, 1919, with Richard B. Morris as *Sheva*.²²

Thomas Morton's *Zorinski*. London, June 20, 1795.

It deals with the abduction of the Polish king Stanislaus and the scene is placed in and near Cracow. The Jewish character is called *Amalekite Grabowski*,²³ chief agent of *Count Rodomsko* and slave driver of his Polish peons. First produced at the Haymarket Theatre, Boston, May 15, 1797, and repeated there, June 5 and 14, with Mr. Hughes as *Amalekite*. It was seen in New York, March 23, 1798, but the character of *Amalekite* is not given, and in Philadelphia, at the Chestnut Street Theatre, March 31, 1815.

John O'Keefe's *The London hermit; or, Rambles in Dorsetshire*. London, June 29, 1793.

²¹ *Supra*, vol. vii, pp. 83, 177, 275.

²² For the early American editions of this play, Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, see A. S. W. Rosenbach, "An American Jewish Bibliography," items 100, 101, and 102.

²³ Landa, *supra*, p. 153, is accordingly in error in his statement that the character of *Aaron* in Campbell's *The forest oracle; or, The bridge of Tresino* (London, Nov. 9, 1829) is the first "Polish" Jew on the English stage, unless he means a "Polish" Jew placed in England. *Zorinski*, however, is not known to Landa.

One of the characters is *Barebones*, described as a "Methodist, preacher, informer, peddler, money-lender, old-clothes man" and he is made to speak in the so-called Jewish dialect.²⁴ Produced at the Park Theatre, New York, April 30, 1798, with John Martin as *Barebones*.

Andrew Franklin's *The Wandering Jew; or, Love's masquerade*. London, May 31, 1797.

This is the first stage representation in England to incorporate the figure of the Wandering Jew, in a farcical way. Produced at the New Park Theatre, New York, May 2, 1798. John Martin, in the rôle of *Major Atall*, disguises himself (Act II, sc. 4) as the *Wandering Jew*. A Philadelphia production on March 27, 1801, was noticed briefly in *Port folio*, Philadelphia, 1801, v. i, p. 110.

August F. F. von Kotzebue's *Lovers' vows; or, The natural son*.²⁵ London, Oct. 11, 1798.²⁶

Two English translations exist, by Mrs. Elizabeth S. Inchbald and Miss Anne Plumptre. The Inchbald version was staged in Philadelphia, May 24, 1799, with great success. Kotzebue's plays were all the rage at that time in England and in this country. In the first act of the play, a *Jew* is introduced who, coming upon *Theodosia*, after her expulsion from the inn, hands her a few coins:

²⁴ "When I was a coal-heaver, my face was a black angel, but my inward man was as white as a white wall that is white" (Act II).

²⁵ *Das Kind der Liebe*, Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen. First produced at the Liebhaber Theater, Reval, Feb. 10, 1790.

²⁶ The following American ed. was printed by Naphtali Judah: *Lovers' vows*. A play, in five acts. Performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden. From the German of Kotzebue. By Mrs. Inchbald. London-printed. New-York: Re-printed by Geo. Forman, for Naphtali Judah, No. 47, Water-Street. 1799. vi p., 1 l., [91-86 p., 1 l. 4°. Copy at the New York Public Library. Brede, "German Drama in English on the Philadelphia Stage from 1794 to 1830," Phila., 1918, p. 73, says that the Inchbald translation is not by Inchbald, since she knew no German, but by an anonymous person who prepared it for her at the request of the director of Covent Garden, where it was first staged.

The Jew: Here take this, 'tis all I can spare. I have not much myself. But take it, and a poorman's blessing.

Theodosia: A thousand thanks! a thousand blessings!! The creed has no influence upon the heart.

This from the Inchbald and Plumptre translations. Dunlap translated it anew,²⁷ but omitted the last sentence about the creed and the heart.²⁸ Dunlap's version was produced at the Park Theatre, New York, of which he was manager at that time, March 11, 1799, with Mr. Miller as *the Jew*.²⁹

Another American version of interest to us is that of J. H. Payne. He made his adaptation in 1809, when he was eighteen years old, and had it printed in Baltimore the same year.^{29a} It is further interesting to note that he omitted the Jewish incident. The earliest ascertainable date of its American production, according to C. F. Heartman and B. Weiss, is Sept. 16, 1811, at the Chestnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia. The date of its printing, however, is almost conclusive evidence that it was seen in Philadelphia or elsewhere not later than 1809. In the printed copy the *Dramatis Personæ* is given, but no date, nor place. In this adaptation by himself Payne acted the part of *Frederick*, in a production at Birmingham, England, July 23, 1813.^{29b}

²⁷ *Lovers' vows*; a play, in five acts. From the German of R[sic]lotzebue, by William Dunlap. As performed at the New-York Theatre. New-York: Published by David Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakespeare-Gallery. Feb.-1814. 74 p. 16°.

²⁸ For a comparison of the Inchbald and Dunlap translations, in which the latter's is ranked as the better one, see *American Monthly Magazine*, New York, vol. i, p. 96.

²⁹ The New York production was reviewed, *ibid.*, p. 76. "It was played with triumphant applause."—*Ireland*, vol. i, p. 184.

^{29a} *Lovers' vows*; a play, in five acts. Altered from the translations of Mrs. Inchbald and Benjamin Thompson, by J. H. Payne. Baltimore: Printed by G. Dobbin and Murphy, 1809. vii [1], [9]-90 p. 24°. Copy at the Library of Congress and New York Public Library.

^{29b} Gabriel Harrison, "John Howard Payne; Dramatist, Poet, Actor," Philadelphia, 1885, p. 74.

August F. F. von Kotzebue's *Family distress*.³⁰ London, June 15, 1799.

This play, published and produced here under the title *Self immolation*,³¹ was staged by Dunlap at his New York theatre, Nov. 29, 1799. It was repeated but once and was never seen anywhere else.³² Act i, sc. 11, introduces a *Jew* who, as the creditor of the impoverished *Maxwell*, deals most generously with him, acquits him of his debt and offers him a substantial sum in further aid.³³ Jefferson played *the Jew*.

Thomas John Dibdin's *Liberal opinions*.³⁴ London, May 12, 1800.

This play is a recasting of his earlier *School for prejudice*,³⁵ and contains the character of *Ephraim*, an "honest" Jew,

³⁰ Original title; *Der Opfertod*.

³¹ *Self immolation; or, The sacrifice of love*. A play in three acts. Translated from the German of Kotzebue. New-York: Printed for Charles Smith and S. Stephens, 1800. 54 p. 8°. This American translation is apparently but a reprint of the English translation by Neuman, although it is variously ascribed to either Dunlap or Charles Smith, the American printer.

³² Neither Seilhamer nor Brede record a production of it outside of New York.

³³ The play was the first of fourteen Kotzebue's pieces produced here during the season 1799-1800. Kotzebue, as in his preceding *Lovers' vows*, extolled the Jew at the expense of the non-Jewish dramatis personæ. "Yes, yes there yet are men—but not among Christians . . . the Jew has rekindled the smothered spark of my confidence in human kindness"—act i, sc. 11. Odell comments thus: "I doubt if sillier stuff ever oozed from the lower dregs of the romantic revival."

³⁴ The printed editions bear the title *The school for prejudice*. It was never printed under the earlier title.

³⁵ "The comedy . . . is an amusing bristling piece, without being remarkable for strength of character or novelty of incident . . . But we praise it for its evident tendency to obviate those unjust and illiberal prejudices which have too long been entertained in every country except this [the italics are ours] against that unfortunate race of men. Mr. Cumberland had the merit of setting the first example." *Port Folio*, Phila., 1801, vol. i, p. 11, 36.

whom Dibdin had been accused of recreating from his own former play, *The Jew and the doctor*.³⁶

It was produced in Philadelphia, Jan. 1, 1801 and Jan. 21, 1801, and by Dunlap at the Park Theatre, New York, Jan. 21,³⁷ and 28, 1803, with Mr. Jefferson as *Ephraim*. The New York premiere was repeated successively four times. Altered and renamed *The school for prejudice*, it was again staged in Philadelphia, Nov. 11, 1801.³⁸

On Aug. 27, 1802,³⁹ and several evenings thereafter, there was given at the Mount Vernon Theatre (New York City?) a comic recitation, *The Jew and the papist*, by Joseph Jefferson.⁴⁰ It was advertised as "Songs and recitations after the play." The Mount Vernon seems to have been a restaurant, whereto the gay ones repaired after the play. On May 25, 1804 the following was announced "For Mr. Tyler's benefit, after the play, Mr. Harwood⁴¹ will present the audience with

³⁶ Dibdin's *The Jew and the doctor*, although staged in London a year and a half before his *Liberal opinions*, was not produced here till seven years later. See below under *The Jew and the doctor*.

³⁷ Reviewed in part as follows "If we are rightly informed, there are certain circumstances in Mr. Dibdin's life which give peculiar force and propriety to his delineation of the benevolent Israelite and which fully exempt him from the charge of plagiarism with respect to Mr. Cumberland's comedy *The Jew* The author, it must be admitted, has done everything for the character of Ephraim, but Jefferson gave it a very handsome support. The prevailing character of the play is that of a broad farce, but its sentiments are highly praiseworthy."

³⁸ There is no record of a New York production under this changed title.

³⁹ *New York Evening Post*, that date.

⁴⁰ Joseph Jefferson, b. 1774, was the son of Thomas Jefferson, an actor with Garrick at the Drury Lane. He came to America about 1791, and Hodgkinson engaged him. Dunlap describes him as a man of small figure, with a singular physiognomy, and eyes full of laughter. He soon obtained first rank on the American stage.

⁴¹ John E. Harwood was an accomplished and well educated young Englishman. He was brought to America by Wignell and here married Miss Bache, a granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin.

Murder in Irish; or, Paddy O'Daggerty's description of different characters of Shakespeare. Othello . . . Merchant of Venice—Shylock and the merchant." These two entertainments are among the earliest vaudeville presentations of Jewish character, which in later years have given much anxiety to the Anti-Defamation League and kindred bodies.

James Cobb's *House to be sold*. London, Nov. 17, 1802.

This is an alteration from a French one-act piece *Maison a vendre*. The Jewish character is *Meshoc* or *Shadrach Meshoc* who is fooled in a commercial bargain while buying a house from one who did not own it. It was staged in New York, Park Theatre, May 25, 1803, as an afterpiece, with John Hogg as *Meshoc*, and was revived there, Jan. 13, 1804.

William Dunlap's *Bonaparte in England*. Dec. 19, 1803. Not printed.⁴²

It was produced as an after-piece and repeated as such Dec. 20 and 21, 1803, at the Park Theatre, New York. It was an inconsequential affair and turned out to be a dramatization of the following contemporary anecdote copied from a London paper: "The man apprehended at Portsmouth under the suspicion of being Jerome Bonaparte is discharged. He had much the looks of an Italian Jew (!!) which is said to be the case with Jerome. While under confinement he was treated with the greatest politeness, which he took full advantage of, ordered everything of the best, and kicked one of the persons downstairs who was appointed to attend him, for some slight disrespect. On being discharged, he desired the officers to tell their employers that as they insisted upon his being the first consul's brother he had lived up to that character."⁴³ Dunlap

⁴² Dunlap announced that *Bonaparte in England* would be included in vol. 9 of his projected 10-volume "Dramatic Works." It was, however, never printed. O. S. Coad, in his "William Dunlap; a study of his life" . . . New York, 1917, p. 84-87, states that only three volumes were issued. The New York Public Library records Dunlap's "Dramatic Works" in only 2 volumes, Philadelphia, 1806-1816.

⁴³ *New York Evening Post*, Dec. 20, 1803.

made this hero a German-Jewish broker, named him *Shadrach Meshac*,⁴⁴ who being shipwrecked on the coast of England, was seized as the supposed Jerome. Harwood played *Shadrach*. There were also a *Moses Mendez* (played by John Hogg) and a *Mrs. Shadrach Meshac* in the play, but what their parts amounted to none of the reviewers bothered to report. Dunlap himself wrote "*Bonaparte in England* brought more applause and less money. . . . The honors paid to *Shadrach* by an Irish officer who confounds Jerome with Napoleon and insists upon treating the broker as the first consul or emperor constitute the fun of the farce."⁴⁵ In 1833—Dunlap was then 67 years old and in poor health—a committee of one hundred prominent New Yorkers, with David Hosack as chairman and William Cullen Bryant as one of its members, calling itself *A committee of Citizens of New York, Friendly to Literature and Drama*, arranged a benefit performance for him, on Feb. 28, when this farce, renamed *Thirty years ago*,⁴⁶ was presented. Placide played *Shadrach*. Dunlap rewrote the greater part of his farce for his benefit performance, but was not able to be present, on account of illness. The proceeds were \$3200.00 and netted Dunlap \$2400-2800.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Dunlap chose in this instance a Jewish name (or rather two Biblical names, Daniel i, 7) curiously and persistently used by English dramatists from the seventeenth century on.

⁴⁵ See his "A History of the American theatre," New York, 1832, p. 322.

⁴⁶ 1833 was the thirtieth anniversary of the first production of this farce. The original title no longer carried its timeliness.

⁴⁷ See "Diary of William Dunlap (1766-1839), the Memoirs of a Dramatist, Theatrical Manager, Painter, Novelist, and Historian." (New York Hist. Soc. Collections, vol. lxii-lxiv) p. 651-662, covering the dates Jan. 20-March 2, 1833. Many Jewish names are recorded throughout his "Diary," Dunlap having been well acquainted with prominent Jews of his time both socially and professionally. One comes across M. M. Noah, Sampson Levy, and Moses Judah, his business partner, again and again. See also G. A. Kohut, "A Literary Autobiography of Mordecai Manuel Noah," in *Publications, supra*, No. 6, p. 113-121.

George Colman's *Love laughs at locksmiths*. London, July 25, 1803.

In this play adapted from Jean Nicolas Bouilly's *Une Folie*, *Capt. Beldare*, one of the characters, disguises himself as *Levi Kaiserman*, a German Jewish picture dealer, in order to gain admittance to his fiancée's house. Staged at the Park Theatre, New York, May 23, 1804, Mr. Shapter as *Capt. Beldare*.^{47a}

Theodore Edward Hook's *The invisible girl*. London, April 28, 1806.

The first New York production took place at the Park Theatre, Jan. 26, 1807. This is another disguise play, in which *Capt. Allclack* (William Twaites) appeared as *Moses Melchisedek*, a broker. In Philadelphia it was seen on Nov. 30, 1810.

Thomas John Dibdin's *The Jew and the doctor*.⁴⁸ London, Nov. 23, 1798.

First New York production took place at the New Park Theatre, Feb. 19, 1808, and was revived at the Lyceum Theatre, Warren St. and Broadway, Feb. 11, 1809. It was staged at the Boston Theatre, Boston, Feb. 23, 1807. In the first New York production, John Bernard played the part of *Abednego*, a kindly Jew, as guardian of a Christian orphan girl.

James Kenney's *Ella Rosenberg*. London, Nov. 19, 1807.

Produced at the Park Theatre, New York, June 15, 1808, with Mr. Robertson as *Col. Mountfort*, disguised as a Jew, for a purpose as similar as in Colman's play. In Philadelphia,⁴⁹

^{47a} I give here the only American edition known to me. *Love laughs at locksmiths*; a comic opera in two acts. By George Colman, the younger. As performed at the Hay-Market and New-York theatres, from the prompt book. (Second American from the first London edition of 1806.) New York: Published by D. Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakespeare-Gallery, 1808. 47 p. 24°. Two undated casts are given for Boston and New York, with Darley in both as *Capt. Beldare*.

⁴⁸ A. S. W. Rosenbach, *supra*, item 137 records a printed ed. of 1807, New York, and item 236, a Philadelphia ed. of 1823.

⁴⁹ See Brede, *supra*, p. 148.

it was produced for the first time, at the Chestnut Street Theatre, Nov. 27, 1809,⁵⁰ and repeated during the same season, Dec. 4. It was printed in New York, in 1808.^{50a}

James Ellison's *The American captive; or Siege of Tripoli*. Boston, 1812.

The Tripolitan War of 1801-1805 had not settled our difficulties with the Barbary States. The abuse of American merchantmen by the piratical Berbers continued. It is not surprising, therefore, to find this theme dramatized again,—by J. Ellison, in 1812.^{50b} It was produced by the Boston

⁵⁰ Abstract is given and reviewed in *Mirror of Taste*, Phila., 1810, vol. i, pp. 69-71, 74-76.

^{50a} *Ella Rosenberg*; a melo-drama, in two acts. As it is performed at the Theatre-Royal, Drury Lane. By James Kenney, esq. New York: Published by David Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakespeare-Gallery, 1808. 35 p. 24°. No cast is given. Copy at the New York Public Library.

^{50b} *The American captive; or, Siege of Tripoli*. A drama in five acts, Written by Mr. James Ellison. Boston: Printed by Joshua Belcher, 1812. 54 p. 24°. Copy at Harvard College Library. Prof. A. H. Quinn, *supra*, p. 420, lists *The adventure; or, The Yankee in Tripoli*, a new version of Ellison's play by John Stevens Jones (1811-1877), and records a production of it at the Park Theatre, New York, Nov. 27, 1835. He further states that a MS. copy of it is at the New York Public Library. This, however, is not quite correct. The only adaptation of Ellison by Jones which is owned at the N. Y. P. L. is *The usurpers; or, Americans in Tripoli*, a drama altered and compressed into three acts, Boston, 1842. The scene is Algiers; the time, 1800; and the characters are the same and similarly named as in Ellison's *The American captive*. The Jewish character, however, is omitted altogether. Two other American dramatists have used this theme for dramatizations. M. M. Noah did so in his *Siege of Tripoli*, produced at the Park Theatre, New York, May 15, 1820, and repeated in Philadelphia, under the title *Yuseff Caramalli*, Jan. 25, 1822. Reference is made to this play by the late George A. Kohut in his "A Literary Autobiography of Mordecai Manuel Noah," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 6, p. 114, and the query is there put by him whether Noah's *The siege of Yorktown* and his *Siege of Tripoli* are identical. The answer is in the negative. The

Theatre Company that year, and a Jewish character was again introduced. Scene 2 of act III is an apartment in *Ishmael's* home. *Ishmael*, soliloquizing, is counting his gold. He speaks in dialect. Enters *Abdommilek*, his servant. A conversation follows, intended to show *Ishmael's* almost inhuman miserliness. Enters *Immorina*, who, in exchange for the return of *Ishmael's* I. O. U.'s showing amounts due from him to her father, the ex-Pasha, forces a promise from him to conduct the captive American *Anderson* beyond the reach of the ruling Pasha of Tripoli. In scene 4 *Ishmael* is seen smuggling *Anderson*, disguised as a Jew, out of the country. *Anderson*, not knowing the reasons for *Ishmael's* apparent kindness, bids him farewell thus: "O generous Hebrew! I will mark it well. No act of mine shall rankle in thy breast." The *Advertisement*, p. 3, dated January, 1812, contains the usual apology. It reads: "The following drama was not originally intended for public presentation. It was undertaken merely for the purpose of filling up the leisure hours of a winter's evening. . . . The favourable opinion of the work induced the author to introduce it on the stage, and the cordial reception it met with there must be our apology for issuing it from the press." From the *Dramatis Personæ* and the *Prologue* we learn that Dickenson played *Ishmael*; Mrs. Powell, *Immorina*; Stockwell, *Abdommilek*; and Duff, *Anderson*, the hero of the piece. Ellison followed Mrs. Rowson not only in his theme, the main outlines of his plot, and the introduction of a Jewish character, but also in causing the Jew to perform the good act of aiding the Americans, against his will and in the face of his intended treachery. He also followed Mrs. Rowson and the majority of his English dramatic predecessors in making

second dramatist to exploit our Mediterranean troubles was J. H. Payne,—in his *Fall of Algiers*, a comic opera, with the music by Bishop, first produced at the Drury Lane, London, Jan. 19, 1825, and seen in Philadelphia in 1827. Both Noah and Payne managed to do without a Jewish character.

his Jew speak in the so-called Jewish dialect. He improved upon this jargon by making it more unintelligible.

The magpie and the maid was staged in Philadelphia, Feb. 28, 1816, and at the Park Theatre, New York, April 1, 1816. This pathetic drama is a version of a play which had been produced in England in many dramatizations. Odell⁶¹ does not know whether the Dibdin or the Pocock version was used.⁶² In this melodrama a girl is accused of the theft of a silver spoon, which was hidden by a magpie. A Jewish peddler variously named *Benjamin* or *Isaac*, establishes her innocence. It was announced for production in Philadelphia, at the Chestnut Street Theatre, for March 28, 1818.⁶³

In Gabriel Harrison, "The Life and Writings of John Howard Payne," Albany, 1875, p. 54-56, the circumstances are narrated of how J. H. Payne wrote his first play abroad,—an English version of the French *Maid and magpie*. He states that it was originally intended for the Drury Lane but that it was finally acquired by Mr. Harris for the Covent Garden and there produced. "The Cambridge History of American Literature," v. i, p. 503, credits Payne with the authorship of the Covent Garden production on Sept. 15, 1815. This is in error, since it is well known that the version produced that evening was that of Pocock. Prof. A. H. Quinn, the author of the last statement in "The Cambridge History," corrected this error in his "A History of the American Drama, from the Beginning to the Civil War," New York and London, 1923, p. 441.

John Till Allingham's *Transformation; or, Love and law*. London, Nov. 30, 1810.

⁶¹ *Supra*, vol. 2, p. 452.

⁶² The earliest of the versions of the magpie story was neither Dibdin's nor Pocock's, but the one by S. J. Arnold, entitled *The maid and the magpie*, produced at the Lyceum Theatre, London, Aug. 28, 1815, to the music of H. Smart.

⁶³ Brede, *supra*, p. 203.

Produced at the Park Theatre, New York, Dec. 30, 1816. The meeting of *Malachi*, "the genuine Jew" played by J. Darley, and *Chameleon*, in the disguise of a Jew, played by Thos. Hilson, is the occasion for much of the humor of the play.⁵⁴

John Tobin's posthumous play *The guardian*. London, Nov. 5, 1816, under the title of *The faro table; or, The guardian*.

Staged at the Park Theatre, New York, April 9, 1817.⁵⁵ In this case, the guardian of the girl, instead of the lover, assumes the Jewish disguise. James Pritchard played the part of *Barton* in the disguise. It was staged at the Chestnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, March 13, 1818.

Henry M. Milner's *The Jew of Lubeck; or, The heart of a father*. London, May, 1819.⁵⁶

In this play the author makes a novel and serious application of the Jewish disguise motif. *The Jew* is not a Jew, but an Austrian nobleman, who, denounced as a traitor, escapes to Lubeck and there avoids identity by living as a Jew.⁵⁷ It was produced at the Park Theatre, New York, Oct. 8, 1819, with

⁵⁴ A printed edition of the play, published Baltimore, by Robinson, Circulating Library and Dramatic Repository, 1814, gives a list of *Dramatis Personæ* for a Baltimore production of that year, in which Mr. Jefferson is *Chameleon* and Mr. Francis is *Malachi*.

⁵⁵ Review in *American Monthly Magazine*, May, 1817, vol. i, p. 52. "A patch-work but splendidly produced."

⁵⁶ Genest gives May 11, as the date of the London production. The date on the title-page of the printed copy is May 12. The London reviewers condemned it generally as below criticism.

⁵⁷ In the preface to the published play, the author wrote as follows: "I believe I ought to apologize to that body of people to whose restoration to their former splendour and a yet more blessed theocracy I devoutly look, for giving my production a title which should excite their curiosity and occasion an ultimate disappointment I can assure that people that it is my sincere belief that their body comprises many, very many, not one tittle less amiable than I have endeavoured to depict my principal character [*Donamar*]."

R. C. Maywood as *the Jew*, and was given at the Chestnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, March 13, 1820, with Hughes in the title-rôle.

William Thomas Moncrieff's *Rochester; or, King Charles the Second's merry days*. London, Nov. 16, 1818.

First New York production, at the Park Theatre, March 23, 1820. In this play *Rochester* and *Buckingham*, two of the dramatis personæ, disguise themselves as Jewish old-clothes men. Each considers the other a fake and each demands of the other that he speak Hebrew to prove his Jewishness. Thereupon they both mumble snatches of Greek and Latin. This particular incident is said to be based on an episode related about Samuel Johnson and Charles Macklin. Edmund Simpson played *Rochester*, and John Dwyer, *Buckingham*.

In 1820 appeared Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*. In that year and in the following few years no less than eighteen dramatizations of the romance were staged in England and America. The first one to be produced here was called *Ivanhoe; or The Jew and his daughter*, "adapted to the New York stage." Odell questions whether it was of American authorship, and regards it as an importation from London.⁵⁸ It was brought out at the Anthony Street Theatre, New York, June 19, 1820, with R. C. Maywood as *Isaac*, and Mrs. Barnes as *Rebecca*. I have not been able to find any contemporary review of it.

Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*. Written ca. 1587-ca 1591, produced 1592 or earlier, and published 1633.⁵⁹

It did not reach the American stage till 1821. In that year, Edmund Kean, the foremost English-speaking actor of the day, on his first American tour, staged it, in the altered version by Samson Penley.⁶⁰ Kean had first come to New York,

⁵⁸ It may have been the version of Dibdin, Soane, Moncrieff, or any of the five other versions which had already appeared in England.

⁵⁹ See "The Jew of Malta and The Massacre of Paris," ed. H. S. Bennett, London, 1931, p. 1-9.

⁶⁰ For an appraisal of the Penley version see C. F. Tucker Brooke, "The Reputation of Christopher Marlowe," in *Transactions of the*

visited Boston and Philadelphia, and upon his return to New York he chose the play for his benefit performance, March 26.⁶¹ He himself played *Barabas*;⁶² Miss Johnson, *Abigail*. It was enthusiastically received, but for his benefit any other play would have been equally acclaimed.

Neither Mordecai M. Noah, Samuel B. H. Judah, nor Jonas B. Phillips,⁶³ whose plays during the twenties of the last century were much in vogue in this country, saw fit to

Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Haven, 1922, vol. xxv, p. 398-402.

⁶¹ Odell thinks that his giving it in New York was "a fine bit of courtesy to his New York supporters."

⁶² The staging of the play in England by Kean was the occasion of much resentment on the part of the Jewish community in London and involved Kean in a long controversy with Charles Bucke, which is fully related by Bucke in his *The Italians; or, The fatal accusation*, London, 1819, 7. ed., p. v-xlvi, 1 l. Bucke writes, *ibid.*, p. viii-ix, "Previous to its [*Jew of Malta*] appearance, I was requested, by one of the Committee, to write the Prologue. This I thought proper to decline:—first, because I felt a reluctance to be, in any way, assisting in the revival of a Tragedy, so barbarous, and so entirely unfitted for the present age, as the *Jew of Malta*: but, principally, because I felt ashamed, in being accessory to the cruelty of offering such an undeserved, as well as unprovoked, insult to the great body of the Jews:—all of whom took so much offence at the presentation—particularly as it occurred during the week of Passover,—that, for the whole of the remaining season, it was more difficult to recognize a Jew in the house, than even a Woman of Fashion." *The Monthly Magazine*, London, 1822, vol. liii, p. 59, states "This conduct having given great satisfaction to the Jews, a select society of them have determined upon presenting Mr. Bucke with a splendid copy of 'Talmud of Babylon' and an illuminated one of the 'Talmud of Jerusalem.'"

⁶³ See Chas. P. Daly, "The Settlement of the Jews in North America," ed. Max J. Kohler, New York, 1893, p. 104-147. Mr. Kohler, in Dec., 1898, read a paper before the American Jewish Historical Society "Some early American Jewish composers, musicians, and actors," which was published in *The Jewish Exponent*, Philadelphia, 1899, v. xxviii, Jan. 6, p. 1-2.

introduce a Jewish character among their dramatis personæ, and not without good reason. For, to present him as a villain would have meant self-stultification, and to picture him as decent and human would have been in defiance of the centuries-old tradition that in the drama the Jew must be the villain or the object of derision. Perhaps, it is well that they did not.

Our survey beginning with *Shylock* in 1752 ended with *Barabas* in 1821—a not unfair testimony and witness to the anti-Jewishness of the delineation of the Jew in English dramatic literature, transported to the American stage. The point to be noted is that none of these characters bears any relation, political, social or cultural, to the condition of the Jews in America. Not in the slightest degree do they “hold up a mirror to nature.” They were merely taken over, together with the plays, from the English stage as the conventionalized villain or clown. The same holds true of the native American plays, which we described more fully. Nevertheless, we record them here because in them the American audiences for the first time saw what they believed to be real Jewish characters.

THE MEARS FAMILY AND THEIR CONNECTIONS, 1696-1824.

BY IDA R. HIRSH.

Up to the time of the Revolution there was a very limited number of Jews in the American Colonies. Since the families were few and their children many, intermarriage among them was inevitable. Hence, a genealogical investigation of one family becomes in a certain degree an account of practically the entire early colonial group. Through the Mears family almost all of this early group of Jewish families is connected. Its lineage is therefore of fundamental importance. There were apparently two men whose names were Samson Mears, and that it appears there is some error in the list of the children of the elder, who there is reason to believe, never came to this country.

The first Jew known to have landed in New Amsterdam was Jacob Barsimson.¹ He arrived on the "Pear Tree" in 1654.² A few months later the "Saint Charles" arrived from Brazil with upwards of twenty individuals on board.³ These twenty odd persons planted the seeds of Judaism in this country. They very appropriately named the Congregation which they established, Shearith Israel, or Remnant of Israel, and a tiny remnant it was in those early days.

No certain record, however, has been discovered of the descendants of this early group nor indeed of any individual until February 8, 1683 when Asher Michells de Paul is recorded to have been in the colony of New York.⁴ One of his

¹ *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 2, p. 77; also No. 6, p. 83.

² *Ibid.*

³ No. 18, pp. 37, 42, 68.

⁴ No. 2, p. 81.

daughters married Samuel, one of two brothers named Levy, and another daughter almost certainly married another brother named Moses. The descendants of this second man are very numerous both in this country and abroad and their story has never been completely written.

Moses Levy married twice and was the father of twelve children. His first wife was Rycha Asher, the daughter of Asher Michells de Paul; his second wife, Grace Mears, was born in 1694 and died in 1740. She was the sister of Judah Mears⁵ and a daughter of Sampson Mears, since the record of the marriage of one of Judah Mears' daughters indicates that Sampson Mears was his father. The will of Moses Levy mentions Jacob Mears.⁶ A man by this name was alive in Jamaica on July 3, 1781. It is probable that he was a brother of Sampson, the father of Judah and Grace Mears. After the death of Moses Levy in 1728, Grace, his widow, married David Hays, a brother of Judah Hays. The latter, having married Rebecca Michaels, a sister of Jochabed Michaels, was a brother-in-law of Judah Mears. David Hays was a widower with children when he married Grace Mears, but no record of his children has been discovered. The record of the death of David Hays is illegible, but it is entered just prior to a legible record dated June 1778.

Judah Mears' name appears in the records of the Congregation Shearith Israel as early as 1728,⁷ predating by two years the date on which his father, Sampson Mears, is said to have arrived in this country.⁸ The statement in "The Jews of Philadelphia"⁹ concerning Sampson Mears and his children is probably entirely incorrect, and more will be said below in substantiation of this contention.

⁵ No. 23, p. 159.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ List of Offerings dated Elul 1728, Congregation Shearith Israel, New York.

⁸ Henry S. Morais, published in 1894, p. 269.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Judah Mears was active in matters pertaining to the Synagogue as is evidenced by his signature on many pages of the Congregation's books. He was Parnas (President) in 1742.¹⁰ An amusing bit of family history is recorded in 1760. It is related that Judah Mears "turned out" his niece Josse, the daughter of Judah Hays, from her seat in Synagogue in order that his own daughter might occupy it. He was fined forty shillings "in order to prevent for the future any person assuming to themselves the authority of determining the proximity of seats in the Synagogue."¹¹ Information that Judah Mears had died on June 7, 1762 at Cape Saint Francois was brought by an acquaintance "who came from that place and verified after that by letters."¹²

Jocabed Michaels, a daughter of Moses¹³ and Catherine Michaels of Curaçao, became the wife of Judah Mears. Catherine Michaels' maiden name is not known, nor has it been discovered whether Moses Michaels was a son of Asher Michells de Paul. Further research will have to decide this problem.

Judah Mears, however, had three Michaels sisters-in-law: Blume, who married Aaron Louzada, of a family about which very little is known; Rebecca, whose husband was Judah Hays, above mentioned, the ancestor of many individuals well known at the time and the father-in-law of the Reverend Isaac Toure,¹⁴ among others; and Rachel, who married Samuel Myers Cohen, whose niece Elkalah Cohen, was the first wife of the Reverend Gershom Mendes Seixas. His second wife was Hannah Manuel, whom he married on November 1, 1786,¹⁵ and not on November 1, 1789, as has been stated in

¹⁰ Records of Congregation Shearith Israel.

¹¹ Minutes of a meeting held in 1760, Cong. Shearith Israel.

¹² Register No. 1, p. 20, Congregation Shearith Israel.

¹³ Third name on the list of Perpetual Prayers for the Departed; Mordecai Burgos being the first, and Eliao Valverde the second.

¹⁴ *Publications, supra*, No. 12, pp. 106, 107.

¹⁵ *New York Journal*, November 2, 1786.

Isaac Markens' *The Hebrews in America* (1888) and in various other histories.

Seven children were born to Judah and Jochabed Mears. Samson,¹⁶ who married Mrs. Robles, is known to have been alive in Saint Eustatia on October 1, 1772.¹⁷ It is not known whether he had any children.

A daughter Sarah, on October 26, 1768, married Solomon Simson (1738-1801). He was a son of Joseph and Rebecca Isaacs Simson who were married in 1722. The following children were born to Sarah and Solomon Simson: Rebecca, September 19, 1769, who, on June 18, 1806, married her cousin Abraham Mears Isaacks; Joseph, who married his cousin Frances, a sister of Abraham Mears Isaacks, three days after his sister had married the latter gentleman, was born in 1779 and died October 31, 1842; Samson, who was born in Danbury, Connecticut, in 1780, was the founder of Mount Sinai Hospital and probably the first Jewish lawyer¹⁸ in New York, died unmarried on January 7, 1857; Jochabed, born on September 14, 1771, died on October 30, 1814; Helena or Ellen, born May 6, 1773, died "at the farm of her brother Samson"¹⁹ on September 30, 1819; and a daughter Frumit, died in infancy.

Two daughters of Judah Mears married two brothers, sons of Abraham and Hannah Isaacks. Rachel, also called Judith Rachel (1747-1819), married Moses Isaacks "at the house of her cousin, Mrs. Rebecca Bush in Philadelphia in 1764,"²⁰ and Rebecca married Jacob Isaacks October 8, 1760. Ten children were born to Rachel and Moses Isaacks. Abraham Mears in 1765, who married his cousin Rebecca Simson, as

¹⁶ Among those who signed "a list of subscribers as Yehidim" on Adar 13, 5519, Congregation Shearith Israel, appears the name of Samson Mears.

¹⁷ Letter in archives of Congregation Shearith Israel.

¹⁸ *Publications, supra*, No. 11, pp. 155, 156.

¹⁹ Register No. 1, p. 72, Congregation Shearith Israel.

²⁰ Personal notes collected by Mrs. Arthur Guiterman.

stated above, and died in 1814; Frances, also mentioned above, who was born on February 11, 1774, married her cousin Joseph Simson in 1806 and died March 15, 1848 at Yonkers, N. Y.; Jochabed (1767-1814) who was married in 1786 to Michael Marks; while Samson Mears Isaacks, born 1777, married Catherine Cohen in 1807; Esther, who was born in 1780 and in 1800 married Isaac Moses, Norwich, Conn., March 6 and died November 27, 1859; Abigail, who was born in Newport, in 1772 and died in New York on September 8, 1855; Judah, who was born on November 20, 1775 and died on the succeeding fifth day of Passover; Catherine, who was born in New York in 1782 and died on May 12, 1854 at the age of seventy-two years; Jacob died in infancy and Sarah Lopez Isaacks, born in Newport, R. I., December 26, 1770, who married her cousin Judah, a son of Asher Myers, in 1821 and died April 23, 1860.

Five children of Rebecca and Jacob Isaacks were unmarried. They were Samson Mears, who died in infancy, Judah, who died in Charleston, S. C., Josey, Grace and Rachel. Their daughter Hannah, had married Jacob Phillips in Newport, Rhode Island, and died in 1798, while their son Abraham, was the husband of Rebecca Cohen of Charleston, S. C.

Grace was born to Judah and Jochabed Mears in 1742 and died on March 4, 1817. She was the wife of Haim Levy, son of Benjamin and Judith Levy, born in 1739 and died July 12, 1795. Their daughter Judith, died in 1833 while their son, Moses H. Levy, married Rosetta Almund in Bristol, England. Another son, Judah Mears Levy, was born June 18, 1778 and married in Wilmington, N. C.

Caty Mears married Asher Myers, a brother of Myer Myers.²¹ Their son Judah's wife was his cousin, Sarah Lopez Isaacks, as mentioned above. In 1831 he died in Richmond, Virginia. Joseph, born May 24, 1764, Moses in 1762, Samson

²¹ List of deaths in month of Nisan, Register No. 1, Congregation Shearith Israel.

in 1766, Sara in 1770, Nathan in 1774, Jochabed in 1775, Levy in 1777 and Gabriel who died in infancy, constituted the remainder of the family of Asher and Caty Myers.

Joyce, another daughter of Judah Mears, was born in 1737. She was the second wife of Myer Myers, a son of Solomon and Judith Myers. Myer Myers was born in 1723 and died in 1795 in New York, and was the famous silversmith of pre-revolutionary New York.²² Among the articles which he made and which are on exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in this City, are two collection plates which were presented to the Museum by the Old First Presbyterian Church of New York. A pair of silver bells used still in the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue were made by Myer Myers.

When Congregation Shearith Israel was incorporated in 1784, Myer Myers and his brothers-in-law, Hayman Levy, husband of Sloë Myers, and Solomon Simson were three of the six Trustees elected. Myer Myers was appointed the first Chairman of the Trustees on June 14, 1784 and was re-appointed at each succeeding meeting until August 1st of that year. He resigned as a Trustee in 1787. During his administration, such matters of importance as purchasing land adjacent to the burying ground and leasing a parcel of land adjoining the Synagogue "provided a good fence be erected around it"²³ were transacted. Each time a piece of land was the subject of discussion, Mr. Myers appointed his brother-in-law Haymand Levy, to obtain an estimate from carpenters for fences. The fences, which served as boundaries, seem to have been of primary importance.

Once when he cast a deciding ballot opposed to increasing the salary of the Shochet, he requested that the minutes state that the following was his reason for doing so: the Shochet had requested "two pairs of boots and a great coat and he [Myers] moved that the same be granted him."²⁴ It was

²² *Publications, supra*, No. 28, p. 236.

²³ Minutes Congregation Shearith Israel, No. 1, p. 36.

²⁴ Minutes Congregation Shearith Israel, No. 1, p. 55.

during the administration of Myer Myers that the first hearse used in the City of New York was purchased by the Synagogue.

Myer Myers was the father of a large family. Solomon, born in 1753, Ritzel, who died when but one year old, and Judith, who was born in 1762 and was the first wife of Jacob Mordecai,²⁵ were the children of his first marriage, Elkalah Myers Cohen, a cousin of his second wife, having been his first consort. Eight children were born to Myer and his wife Joyce. Ritza, born in 1769, was married to Joseph Marx of Richmond, Virginia; Moses Mears, (1771-1860) married his cousin Sally Hay(e)s of Boston, Massachusetts in 1796, and Rebecca, 1776-1863, was born in Norwalk, Connecticut, and was the second wife of Jacob Mordecai of Virginia. It is likely that their son Benjamin, in 1803 married Hannah, a daughter of David Hays, Jr., who was a grandson of Michael Hays, and upon her death in 1811, her sister Rachel; Miriam and Aaron were twins born in 1774 and Judah was born in 1768. These three died in infancy. Samson was born in 1772 and died in 1805.

The most recent date of death of any of the daughters of Judah Mears is that of Joyce Myers who died in Richmond, Virginia, on July 19, 1824.²⁶

It may be seen from the above that but two children of Sampson Mears, Grace and Judah, are on record. It seems apparent that there were two men whose names were Samson Mears. One the father of Judah, the other his son, probably named after his grandfather. As far as has been discovered Judah had but one son, the rest of his children were daughters. Since we know nothing of the younger Samson's issue, if it existed, the family ends at this point.

²⁵ Jacob Mordecai was the founder and proprietor of the Warrenton School for Girls, Warrenton, N. C., see *Publications, supra*, No. 6, pp. 39, 42, 43; He laid the cornerstone of Mikve Israel Synagogue, Philadelphia, Pa., No. 1, p. 15.

²⁶ Register No. 1, p. 99, Congregation Shearith Israel.

Some interesting inter-relationships may be observed from the following examples: Rebecca Michaels was the wife of Judah Hays, whose brother David, was the husband of Grace Mears. Consequently, the brothers, Judah and David Hays were brothers-in-law of Judah Mears. Several of the latter's grandchildren intermarried, Sarah Lopez Isaacks having become the wife of Judah Myers and Abraham Mears Isaacks and his sister Frances, having married Rebecca and Joseph Simson, respectively. Since cousins frequently married, it was not unusual that Rachel Mears Isaacks was the mother-in-law of her niece Rebecca Simson and of her nephews Joseph Simson and Judah Myers.

Moses Levy, who is buried in the cemetery on the New Bowery²⁷ and whose tombstone is in such excellent state of preservation that the inscription is entirely legible after two hundred and three years, and the brothers David and Judah Hays, the latter naturalized in 1729,²⁸ and a merchant who owned a sixteen gun ship,²⁹ "Duke of Cumberland"³⁰ were brothers-in-law of Judah Mears, as were Aaron Louzada, and Samuel Myers Cohen, also a merchant³¹ and President of Shearith Israel when he died in 1743. More will be said below concerning him.

Among the sons-in-law of Judah Mears were Moses Isaacks at whose home in Newport, Rhode Island, it is said that Washington was entertained,³² Solomon Simson, who was president of Shearith Israel in 1790,³³ and prominent in many other congregational and national enterprises,³⁴ and Myer

²⁷ It is said that every tombstone in this cemetery erected prior to the American Revolution was imported.

²⁸ "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. vi, p. 270.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ A painting of Moses Levy, which is owned by Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, shows this ship.

³¹ *Publications, supra*, No. 18, p. 121; No. 23, p. 151.

³² No. 19, p. 20.

³³ No. 11, pp. 156-157.

³⁴ No. 18, p. 209; No. 11, p. 92.

Myers, who was probably the best known of them all, and whose exquisite handiwork has been left with us.

It may be observed that this family of merchants constituted the gentlefolk of their respective generations. In describing a service which he attended in Synagogue, in Creechurch Lane, Leadenhall Street, in London, Thomas Crumpton, in a letter written April 12, 1662, to Revd. Jo. Greenhalgh, minister of Ashley Chapel, said, "They were all gentlemen (Merchts) I saw not one mechanick person." ³⁵ In the eighteenth century "merchant" was written after a man's name ³⁶ much in the same manner as a college degree is today.

Samson Simson was probably the first man in the Mears family to have entered the professional field. He was graduated from Columbia College in 1800. It is interesting to note that being descended from a family of merchants, he had little taste for the practise of law and after a few years resumed the quiet life of a country gentleman. ³⁷ He and his cousin Abraham Mears Isaacks, who is said to have written a beautiful prayer at the time of the yellow fever epidemic ³⁸ in New York in 1803, were two of Judah Mears' grandsons.

The Mears family was related through more remote channels, it is true, to the famous Jewish Minister of the Revolution, the Reverend Gershom Mendes Seixas, to Barnard Gratz, one of the founders of the famous Gratz family of Philadelphia, and to Mathias Bush, who with his son Solomon, served in the Continental Army. It may be of interest to note that Sloë Myers, a sister-in-law of Joyce Mears Myers, was the grandmother of Esther Seixas, second wife of Naphtali Phillips and that Rebecca Bush, a niece of Mrs. Judah Mears, was the grandmother of Arabella, wife of Zalegman Phillips, a brother of Naphtali Phillips.

³⁵ Elkan Nathan Adler, "History of Jews in London," 1930, p. 102.

³⁶ Gratz Papers, William Vincent Byars, published in 1916, p. 9n.

³⁷ *Publications, supra*, No. 10, p. 110.

³⁸ No. 20, p. 158.

The lineage of the several families mentioned, if completely presented, would probably embrace a very large percentage of all those descended from the early colonial group and for the partial appreciation of this statement reference is to be made to a paper dealing with Moses Levy and presented at this meeting.

Morais³⁹ states that Sampson Mears arrived in this country in 1730. No further information on this point has been obtained but it is known that he was a merchant in London in 1701.⁴⁰ Albert M. Hyamson⁴¹ states that Marcus Moses, an excommunicated Ashkenazi Jew, together with his friends Sampson Mears and Abraham Nathan, formed an opposition Congregation in Magpye Alley where it continued to meet for twenty-two years. The date of this incident is not given, but it is stated that in 1704 the erection of a Synagogue by this independent congregation was prevented by a petition made jointly by the Ashkenazi and Sephardi Congregations and sent to the Board of Aldermen of London.⁴² From the date above, it is apparent that Sampson Mears mentioned in this incident was probably the father of Judah Mears.

It seems reasonable to expect that since Judah Mears, Moses Levy and David Hays, son and sons-in-law, respectively, of

³⁹ "Jews of Philadelphia," p. 269.

⁴⁰ "1700 May Isaac Rodrigues Marques, merchant of the City of New York, deposes that in May 1700 or thereabouts he received per ship Providence bound for New York from London from Samson Mears, merchant of London, instead of the invoiced consignment of 50 lbs. 8 oz. of amber beads in a box, only 33 lbs. 9 oz. and 107 oz. of beads and that he did not discover that any were missing until June 6, 1701. Sworn to June 18, 1701 before Mayor Isaac D. Riemci, who certifies that Marquis was a person well known and worthy of good faith and credit, who being sworn upon the old Testament with his head covered after the manner and custom of Jews deposed as above deposition recorded June 18, 1701, by Isaac Rodrigues Marques." (Liber 23 of Conveyances, p. 293, Register's Office, New York County.)

⁴¹ "A History of the Jews in England," p. 241.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 242.

the elder Sampson Mears, were prominent in the affairs of the Synagogue, and the latter having himself been prominent in communal life in London, that some notation of Sampson Mears would have appeared on the congregational records had he been in this country. None exist, however, even on the very earliest lists. The name of Abraham Mears appears in 1730,⁴³ and he was probably the same man mentioned in Adler's "History of the Jews in London."⁴⁴

The records of the Congregation Shearith Israel establish that Grace and Judah were Sampson Mears' children. In view of the fact that Grace was married in 1718 and Richea in 1760 or more than two decades later, that these two were sisters is unquestionably incorrect.

Sampson Mears is said to have arrived in this country in 1730 after the death of his wife, with his five children, Richea, Rebecca, Rachel, Elkalah and Samson, and with his niece, Rose Bunn;⁴⁵ also that Elkalah married Myer Myers.⁴⁶ The records of the Congregation indicate that Myer Myers was married twice, his first wife having been Elkalah and his second wife Joyce, the former a daughter of Samuel Myers Cohen,⁴⁷ his second wife being her cousin, a daughter of Judah Mears. Two sisters Richea and Rebecca,⁴⁸ who married Barnard Gratz and Mathais Bush, respectively, are said to have been daughters of Sampson Mears. Since Grace Mears was born in 1694, her father Sampson, must have been born about 1670. It is therefore, very unlikely that Richea who is said to have married Barnard Gratz in 1760 was the daughter of Sampson Mears, since at that time he would have been about

⁴³ List of Sedaka, Congregation Shearith Israel.

⁴⁴ Pp. 199, 200.

⁴⁵ Henry S. Morais, "Jews of Philadelphia," pp. 269, 270.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Record of her death in Register No. 1, Congregation Shearith Israel.

⁴⁸ Hannah London, "Portraits of Jews," New York, 1927, pp. 33, 73. In "Jews of Philadelphia," by Henry S. Morais, her name is given as Tabitha, p. 22.

ninety years old. Morais states that Richea came to New York with Sampson in 1730. In Hannah London's "Portraits of Jews"⁴⁹ Richea's birth date is given as 1731, although it is said that she is the daughter of Sampson Mears.

Further research, however, indicates that the sisters, Richea, Rebecca and Elkalah, were the daughters of Samuel Myers Cohen⁵⁰ and his wife Rachel, a sister-in-law of Judah Mears. In this connection it is evident that Rachel Mears who married Moses Isaacks *was* a cousin of Rebecca Bush as quoted above.

In his Will,⁵¹ Samuel Myers Cohen mentions his sister, Rachel, who married Solomon Bunn and her daughter Rose, his niece, who obviously made her home with his family. The records of the Synagogue indicate that Elkalah, first wife of Myer Myers, was a daughter of Samuel Myers Cohen. In view of these records, the heretofore unexplainable relationships of cousins and nieces, such as Rachel Isaacks, Rebecca Bush and Rose Bunn, which are now clearly defined, it appears that Richea, Rebecca and Elkalah mentioned above, were daughters of Samuel Myers Cohen and that Rose Bunn was his niece,⁵² and not Sampson Mears.

Since a genealogical investigation of the Mears' family connects practically all of the early Colonial group, its lineage is of fundamental importance. There were apparently two men whose names were Samson Mears, and it appears that there is some error in the list of the children of the elder, who, there is reason to believe, never came to the country. It seems that this entire part of the lineage has been confused by various transcriptions of the first statement concerning this family in "Jews of Philadelphia" and it is likely that this data has been copied into "The Gratz Papers."⁵³

⁴⁹ Pp. 34, 123.

⁵⁰ Will of Samuel Myers Cohen, *Publications, supra*, No. 23, p. 152.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ William Vincent Byars, 1916.

ADOLPHUS S. SOLOMONS AND THE RED CROSS.

BY CYRUS ADLER, PH. D., D. H. L., LITT. D.

In the twentieth number of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*¹ there was printed a charming tribute to the memory of Adolphus S. Solomons, prepared by Louis Marshall. A brief biography of Mr. Solomons appeared some years previously in "The Jewish Encyclopedia."²

It is not my intention to repeat the details of the biographical sketches given in these two places, though I may say in passing that Mr. Solomons' activities during his long life of eighty-four years have only been portrayed in outline and that if his correspondence could be recovered it would, I believe, reveal that he had a larger share in the great Jewish communal activities of his time than has heretofore been supposed. He was an active and energetic man, modest and retiring, and his good deeds have been less recorded than those of many another.

In view of the enormous importance which has been reached by the Red Cross, and more especially of the significant part played in this work of humanity by the American Red Cross, I thought that it might be not unfitting to bring before the Society, in a little more detail, the relationship of Mr. Solomons to this great association, and I do so the more willingly because Mr. Solomons was preeminently known as a Jew, steadfast in principle and practice to the religion of his fathers. For the text I shall take the statement about this part of his activities as it appeared in "The Jewish Encyclopedia":³

Solomons was an incorporator and for seventeen years an active member of the National Association of the Red Cross, and was also

¹ Pp. 166-170.

² Vol. xi, p. 459.

³ *Ibid.*

one of its two vice-presidents. President Arthur appointed him and Clara Barton as representatives of the United States Government in the International Congress of the Red Cross, held at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1881; and Solomons was elected vice-president of that Congress. He was one of the five original members of the New York executive board of the Red Cross Relief Committee, which board was in session during the Spanish-American War and consisted of twenty-five members presided over by Bishop Potter.

Though without homiletic experience, I wish to illumine the text by some documents which have come to me, and which might possibly require just a little introduction and commentary to make clear their relationship to the great movement.

The forerunners of this work of mercy were the English nurses, the French Sisters and the Russian Sisters, who offered their services during the Crimean War in 1854. Among these women the name of Florence Nightingale stands out preeminent, so that the thirty English nurses who went with her were described by London *Punch* as "The Nightingales" but by Kinglake as "The Angel Band."

The Red Cross movement is due to the initiation of Henri Dunant, a Swiss gentleman, based upon the experiences at the battle of Solferino, fought on June 24, 1859. He happened upon the field of battle while on a pleasure trip and was so impressed by the scenes he witnessed that three years later he published a book entitled *Un Souvenir de Solferino* which passed through several editions and was translated into various languages. This resulted in the formation of a society, which in its turn brought about the meeting of the thirty-six delegates, some official and some semi-official, on October 26, 1863, resulting in the more formal meeting of the delegates of the nations at Geneva, that created the International Red Cross. This first convention was concluded on October 22, 1864, and was largely intended for neutralizing hospitals and ambulances and for the amelioration of the wounded in armies in the field. The original convention of 1864 was followed by another

in 1868. Most of the nations ratified the conclusions of these two conventions promptly. It was not until March 1, 1882 that the President of the United States declared that, with the advice and consent of the Senate, he acceded to the said convention, and the Senate ratified this action on March 16.

On March 23, one week after, there appeared on behalf of the American Association of the Red Cross, the following appeal to the American people, which bears among others the signature of A. S. Solomons:

Appeal to the American People.

The President having signed the Treaty of the Geneva Conference and the Senate having, on the 16th instant, ratified the President's actions, the American Association of the Red Cross, organized under provisions of said treaty, purposes to send its agents at once among the sufferers by the recent floods, with a view to the ameliorating of their condition so far as can be done by human aid and the means at hand will permit.

Contributions are urgently solicited. Remittances in money may be made to Hon. Charles J. Folger, Secretary of the Treasury, chairman of the board of trustees, or to his associates, Hon. Robert T. Lincoln, Secretary of War, and Hon. George B. Loring, Commissioner of Agriculture. Contributions of wearing apparel, bedding, and provisions should be addressed to "The Red Cross Agent" at Memphis, Tenn.; Vicksburg, Miss.; and Helena, Ark.

Clara Barton,	Mrs. Omar D. Conger,
Bancroft Davis,	A. S. Solomons,
Frederick Douglass,	Mrs. S. A. Martha Canfield,
Alex. Y. P. Garnett,	R. D. Mussey,

COMMITTEE.

Washington, D. C., March 23, 1882.

In anticipation of the ratification of this treaty, meetings of citizens of Washington were held in the late 'seventies, mostly at the hospitable home of Mr. Solomons, and it was at one of these meetings that the proposal was agreed upon to incorporate in the District of Columbia a society under the name of The American Association of the Red Cross. It was the membership of that association which issued the appeal above given.

Another conference was held at Geneva, September, 1884, and this was the first time at which an official representation of the United States Government was present. The representatives of the United States on this occasion were Miss Clara Barton, Judge Joseph Sheldon, and Mr. A. S. Solomons, who had become vice-president of the American Association of the Red Cross. Mr. Solomons' own account of this conference is contained in an interview printed in the *Washington Post* for October 1, 1884, which is of sufficient interest to reproduce here:

The Red Cross Congress.

Vice-President Solomons' Account of the Work Accomplished.

Mr. A. S. Solomons, vice-president of the Geneva Red Cross Congress, arrived at his home on K Street, near 12th, early yesterday morning, and left the city again for New York last night to attend to some private business. He was visited by a *Post* reporter yesterday afternoon and appeared much improved by his trip across the Atlantic.

"I left here," said Mr. Solomons, "on the 30th of last July, having been appointed together with Miss Clara Barton and Judge Sheldon, to represent America at the Red Cross Congress. The sessions were held from the 1st to the 7th of September, and officers from 37 Governments were present, including even a representative from Japan. The assemblage numbered 85 persons, all engaged in official life or distinguished by title. England, for instance, sent her surgeon general; the Empress of Germany sent her private secretary to represent her in person, as well as the Government, and the other powers sent correspondingly distinguished people. We appeared small in comparison to the rest."

"Did the Congress get through much business during its session?"

"Yes, sir, a great deal, and business that will prove a blessing to many who will have to take their chances in the fields of battle. Many of the horrors of war will be materially lessened by the action of the Congress."

"In what way can this be accomplished?"

"Well, a great variety of modern appliances for the care and cure of the sick and wounded were presented and approved by the Red Cross Association. Dr. Porte, who is second in command of the Bavarian army, made one of the most wonderful exhibits I ever

saw. He extemporized all appliances which may be needed for the care and transportation of the wounded out of the simplest things. Such articles as packing cases, pieces of iron hoop, twigs of trees, old straw, tin cans, old canvas packing, etc., he turned into practical use. Securing a lot of tin cans he threw them into a fire until the solder had melted off. He then flattened the tin by means of common tacks to the sticks. In a little or no time he had his posts up and his tin cans, old canvas, strips of wood, etc., formed the sides and roof of a little house as waterproof as any of our modern tents. Out of a packing case, by a few motions of a saw, he had a chair made in which a wounded man could be strapped in a comfortable position on a horse's back and carried any distance. Then, taking up an old brandy bottle, the doctor secured a piece of twine, gave it a turn or two around the neck of the bottle and began a seesaw movement. In a few minutes the friction heated the bottle's neck at the point where the cord encircled it, and a drop of water applied cut the bottle as if with a diamond. The bottom portion then formed a tumbler, while the neck, with the aid of a little sponge and sand, formed a filter by which the most impure water could be made pure. The doctor gave many other exhibitions which none but those accustomed to the hardships and wants of a field life could appreciate. Many of those present remarked that the doctor should be in America, where he would outdo even Yankee ingenuity.

"Another fine exhibit," continued Mr. Solomons, "was one shown by Baron Mundy, of Austria. He showed to what practical effect electric light could be used at night time after a big battle. By means of a little engine, easily carried from place to place and supplied with gas, a form of dynamo light as bright as day could be shed for a distance of eight hundred yards, thus enabling the surgeons to find the wounded as well as affording the necessary light to make operations. Altogether I may say the good that will come from the Congress is incalculable."

"How did the Powers receive their American cousins?"

"It was an ovation everywhere. In Geneva we were given an official dinner, at which 200 distinguished guests were present. Miss Barton was the only lady present, in the room, and she received showers of encomiums from the various speakers."

"When will you make your report to the President?"

"As soon as Miss Barton and Dr. Sheldon return to America and we can have a conference on the subject."

Apparently all was not going well with the organization in America for among Mr. Solomons' papers there is a copy of a

letter dated December 14, 1892, addressed to M. Moynier, president of the International Committee of the Red Cross at Geneva, with two endorsements, one marked, "Letter of Committee to Mr. Moynier," and the other, "Miss Barton's answer to Moynier's complaint of May 2, 1892."

In 1898 a new society was organized entitled, The American National Red Cross Relief Committee of which Miss Clara Barton was president and treasurer, and Mr. A. S. Solomons a member of the executive committee.

The reorganization which apparently had something to do with the Spanish American War seems also to have produced a society in New York entitled, The New York Red Cross, indicated by a letter from Stephen E. Barton to Mr. Solomons: dated April 21, 1898:

I have your favor of today, enclosing check for \$10.00 for one year's dues in the Red Cross. There are no dues in the American National Red Cross of which you are a member, but the annual dues of the New York Red Cross, an organized society, are \$10.00 a year, and I think very likely your check is intended for that organization. If so, it should be sent to Mr. William T. Wardell, President, No. 26 Broadway. I return the check in order that you may send it to Mr. Wardell.

I am extremely glad to hear from you and would indeed like to see you if you find it convenient to some day call at this Committee room. Miss Barton is in the city today at No. 3 North Washington Square. She is expected to go to Washington some time during the day, at what hour I do not know. I feel sure she would be glad to see you a moment if you found it convenient to call upon her.

The *New York Herald* of May 18, 1898 printed the following statement indicating Mr. Solomons' active connection with the work at this step:

Relief Plans Tangled. Everybody Wants to Help, But Organization Is Lacking. The National Red Cross Relief Committee, After a Long Discussion, Refers the Question of Establishing a National Relief Commission Back to Its Conference Committee.

The American National Red Cross Relief Committee met in the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce yesterday afternoon. It was not an altogether harmonious meeting. August Belmont, John P.

Faure, Felix Adler, Alexander E. Orr, Dr. George F. Shrady, A. S. Solomons, William T. Wardell, Levi P. Morton, Dr. A. M. Lesser, and William G. Low were present. In the absence of the Chairman, Bishop Potter, Mr. Orr presided.

Secretary Faure read the minutes of the last meeting, and then Mr. Morton submitted a report of the conference which the special committee, appointed by the Relief Committee, held with President McKinley and the army and navy authorities last Thursday; and also of the conference with a delegation from the National Relief Association, now being formed in Philadelphia, which took place at Mr. Morton's house last Saturday at the suggestion of the President and other officials. The real object of the meeting was to get the approval of the entire committee for the proposition unanimously adopted at the last named conference. That's where the trouble started. Some of the members refused to give their unqualified approval to the propositions, which were as follows:

First—One society, to be known as the National Red Cross and Relief Commission.

Second—State societies, to be organized and known by their State titles.

Third—Contributions to be designated for the purposes to which they are to be applied, namely, for the work of the Red Cross or the work of the Relief Commission.

Fourth—The American Red Cross to have its particular field of work as designated by its constitution and by international treaties; the Relief Commission to have its particular field as set out in the call for relief which appeared in the *Sun* on Thursday, May 12.

Mr. Solomons moved that the report be adopted, but Mr. Orr suggested that the members have a full and free discussion before acting. Several thought the name "National Red Cross and Relief Commission" very confusing, but this was passed over. When it came to discussion of the organization of State societies, to be known by their State titles, Mr. Faure thought this was a matter which should receive careful thought, and asked if the special committee and the Philadelphians had any definite plan on this point.

Mr. Wardell said they had not, and thought it was a question which might be referred to the Committee of the Whole.

"I want to know," said Felix Adler, "whether the Philadelphia National Relief Association consented to merge itself into the Red Cross?" "After a long discussion," said Mr. Wardell, "they yielded to us. I am thoroughly loyal to the Red Cross, but I do not consider this committee the Red Cross. We are a relief committee to aid the

Red Cross. The combined committees, ours and the Philadelphia Relief Association, are bound to sustain the Red Cross, but we are also bound to sustain the Relief Committee. If money is paid to us for special purposes, it will be held for those purposes. I believe we should have a national committee, composed of Gov. Morton, Gov. Pattison, and, say, a Bostonian, an ex-Governor also if possible, under whom we could work. They would constitute a sort of sanitary commission. I see that the Daughters of the Revolution desire to establish a floating hospital. I don't see why we can't unite with them." "I beg to differ with Mr. Wardell," said Mr. Solomons; "In the first place, I think this National Red Cross Relief Committee is the outgrowth of the Red Cross, and is certainly a part of it. You must bear in mind that during the Civil War no such international treaty arrangements as we now have were in existence. Any organization other than the Red Cross now at work will not be recognized by the country with which we are at war. That is an important thing to remember. I think we'd better refer the whole subject back to the special committee." "Just what is the Red Cross?" asked the Chairman.

Dr. Lesser gave a brief explanation of the national organization, which Mr. Solomons supplemented by saying: "I've just received a letter from Washington in response to a question on this very point. The American Association of the Red Cross was incorporated on Oct. 7, 1881. The names of the incorporators are Clara Barton, William Lawrence, Jos. K. Barnes, A. S. Solomons, and Alexander T. P. Garrett. Several of these are dead, but others have taken their places."

"Our purpose," said Dr. Shradý, coming back to the subject in hand, "when we went to Washington, was to tender the services of the Red Cross to the Government. I do not think President McKinley had a thorough understanding of just what the Red Cross is, and he had rather committed himself to the Philadelphia Relief Association. After hearing what our committee had to say, he was very much in favor of our plan of work, and acknowledged its legitimacy as the representative of this Government. But he expressed a desire that we hold a conference with the Philadelphia Association, and if possible unify the relief work.

"I think we should pay respect to President McKinley's wishes," remarked Mr. Faure. "Mr. Wardell's idea of appointing a national commission of three men is a good one. Let this committee be a nucleus for the New York State Association, and the Association in Philadelphia the nucleus for Pennsylvania and so on."

"If we adopt Mr. Wardell's suggestion to appoint a national commission of three we cannot adopt the report of the committee that conferred with the Philadelphia gentlemen," said Dr. Shrady. "They are directly opposed. I wish to say that the Sanitary Commission could not have existed during the Civil War had the Red Cross then existed."

"Where is the money to center?" asked Mr. Orr. "In this Red Cross and Relief Commission," said Mr. Wardell. "The Red Cross couldn't get a dollar of our money unless we chose to give it."

Mr. Solomons again moved that the whole matter be referred back to the committee, but Mr. Wardell objected, saying that time was precious and that an appeal for funds was ready to be sent out. Mr. Faure offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, That this committee affirmatively views the report of the special committee; that the subject is referred back to that committee with the view of learning from its Philadelphia associate members as to the reception of their report by their parent organization; and

"Resolved, That this joint Committee is requested to prepare and present to this committee a plan or recommendation for the creation and organization of a National Red Cross and Relief Commission, to which their report alludes, in accordance with the propositions submitted and agreed upon at the conference on Saturday last."

The Chairman put the matter to a vote and the Faure resolution was adopted. Dr. Shrady and Mr. Solomons opposed it. Dr. Lesser did not vote. "I had a letter from the President of Columbia University on Friday," said Mrs. Orr, "in which he stated that Mrs. Low was going to meet Mrs. Butler to consider organizing a National Relief Society. They wish to secure another hospital ship."

"They must remember that they can't float their hospital without our flag," commented Mr. Wardell.

"The whole thing comes back to the Red Cross," said Mr. Solomons. "We all know that nothing can pass through the enemy's lines except under the Red Cross flag. Then why in God's name do we wish to fritter away our power to anybody else. I extend the hand of fellowship to other committees, but our committee has the first right morally, legally, and in every other way, to take this work in hand. The original committee is better able to do it than any other."

Mr. Morton insisted that alliance with other organizations would strengthen the Red Cross.

Mr. Adler offered a resolution asking the public school children to contribute a penny each to the relief fund on the Friday before Decoration Day. He had consulted Superintendent Jasper, Mr. Hubbell, and Mr. Maxwell, and they heartily agreed to the plan. The resolution was referred to the Executive Committee.

Mr. Faure moved that the printed appeal for funds, which is in readiness, be sent out.

"But it is signed by this committee," said Dr. Shraday, "and we have no name, no standing, no anything."

"Our name stands as it was until further action is taken," remarked some one, and Mr. Faure's resolution was adopted. The meeting then adjourned.

The resolution of Felix Adler resulted in probably the first attempt to organize the children of the United States for a national relief purpose, and the rather rare circular making this call, it should be noted, besides being signed by A. S. Solomons, contains the names of Jacob H. Schiff, Felix Adler and James Speyer.

To the State Superintendents of Public Instruction.

Gentlemen:

Whereas, The people of the United States are now engaged in a war having for its object the promotion of liberty and the vindication of humanity; and,

Whereas, It is a fact of common observation that patriotic feeling nowhere runs higher than among the children of our public schools, and it is deemed desirable that a suitable expression, not by words only, but by deeds, be provided for this feeling; therefore,

Resolved, That a National Children's Offering be invited for the benefit of the wounded and sick soldiers and sailors in the present war.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the public educational authorities in all the States and Territories to set aside for this purpose the last day on which schools may be in session before the summer vacation.

Resolved, That a contribution of one cent be suggested to each pupil, so that the poorest be not excluded, and that the principle of equality, which is fundamental in our public education system, may not be violated.

Resolved, That such an act of homage on the part of the children to the National Cause, taking place simultaneously in every part of

the land, cannot but have a beneficial effect in strengthening the feeling of patriotism among the young, and, at the same time, will be a new evidence of the sentiment of unity that binds together all the sections of our country.

Resolved, That the sums thus collected shall be sent to Frederick D. Tappan, Treasurer of the National Relief Committee, 320 Broadway, New York, to be expended through the channels of the Red Cross Association, an association which has been officially recognized by the President of the United States, and which is fitted to dispense the funds intrusted to it in the most prompt and effective manner.

Respectfully,

Henry C. Potter, D. D.	T. Gallard Thomas, M. D.
Levi P. Morton	A. S. Solomons
Alexander E. Orr	John P. Faure
Frederick D. Tappan	A. M. Lesser, M. D.
Edward G. Andrews, D. D.	Edwin Gould
August Belmont	Felix Adler, Ph. D.
Joseph H. Choate	John S. Huyler
Chauncey M. Depew, LL. D.	Edwin Langdon
Morris K. Jesup	Gustav H. Schwab
John D. Crimmins	James Speyer
Rev. Sylvester Malone	William P. Clyde
William G. Low	J. Pierpont Morgan
John D. Rockefeller	Douglas Robinson
Jacob H. Schiff	Charles S. Fairchild
George F. Shradv, M. D.	Stephen E. Barton
Wm. R. Stewart	Howard Townsend
Charles Stewart Smith	Cleveland H. Dodge
William T. Wardell	Clement A. Griscom, Jr.

AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS RELIEF COMMITTEE.

But conditions were still unsatisfactory. I am not going into the details of the various reorganizations. It was plain that Miss Barton as she grew older was not able to cope with an organization of the size which the Red Cross had assumed, and in order to give it that financial stability before the public required of all organizations which handle large trust funds contributed by the public, the American Red Cross was re-incorporated by an act of Congress which required a public annual statement but made no provision for a financial audit. Dissension again arose. I find among Mr. Solomons' papers

a document entitled, "The Illegal and Arbitrary Actions of the American Red Cross, and its so-called Executive Committee Ventilated." This consisted of an address dated May 1, 1903, including a statement submitted to Congress, Document No. 340, 57th Congress, 2nd Session, which document apparently resulted in the suspension of Miss Mabel T. Boardman, as a member of the Red Cross, but really brought about the reorganization of that body and rendered possible the existence of the splendid organization which has been operating since 1903 to the great benefit of humanity. This document on page 25 contains the following statement, in which Mr. Solomons participated:

The undersigned persons who, in times of previous activities and during the war with Spain, have been associated with the American National Red Cross, desire to state, in their judgment, the financial arrangements of this organization need reorganization in order to meet the confidence of the American public.

They most heartily indorse the efforts now being made by some of the prominent members of the Red Cross in Washington to thoroughly reorganize that association and to provide for a careful and businesslike administration of its finances.

Henry C. Potter

Spencer Trask

Robert C. Ogden

Cleveland H. Dodge

Helen Fidelia Draper

Howard Townsend

Elizabeth Mills Reid

Samuel Woolverton

F. Augustus Schermerhorn

A. S. Solomons

Gustav H. Schwab

Olivia M. Cutting

Throughout this period Mr. Solomons was actively engaged in correspondence with Mr. Howard Townsend of New York.

The situation is very well portrayed in a letter sent by Mr. Solomons on January 27, 1903 to M. Gustav Moynier, president of the International Red Cross which is given herewith:

The admirable work hitherto done by the American Association of the Red Cross and its auxiliaries, and the desire of perpetuating its good name and deeds is the exclusive reason for calling your serious attention to the enclosed copy of a report published in the

Washington Post, one of the leading papers of that city, on the 10th of December, wherein is disclosed a condition of affairs which you will surely disapprove, and which demands prompt remedial measures.

The Hon. John W. Foster, formerly Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Arthur, and perhaps the leading expounder of International law in the United States, you will observe, protested most vigorously against the action of the Association, and upon its refusal to give consideration to his wise declarations, promptly withdrew from the meeting, with some ten other members of the Association.

In order that you may clearly understand the situation, it may be well to give you a résumé of the existence of the Red Cross in this country.

On the 1st day of July, 1881, the American Association of the Red Cross was incorporated under the laws of the Federal Government, in the City of Washington, D. C., by Clara Barton, William Lawrence, Joseph K. Barnes, A. S. Solomons, and Alexander Y. P. Garnett, for a term of 20 years, and Clara Barton was elected President, and William Lawrence and A. S. Solomons, Vice-Presidents.

On the 9th day of June, 1882, the Federal Council of the Swiss Confederation held in Geneva, Switzerland, on the 22d day of August, 1864, accepted the adhesion of the United States to the Convention of the Red Cross, and by a proclamation issued by Chester A. Arthur, President of the United States, on the 26th day of July, 1882, the United States acceded thereto.

On the 3rd day of May, 1898, soon after the Spanish-American War began, the American National Red Cross Relief Committee in New York was formed with the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter as Chairman, Alexander E. Orr, Vice-Chairman; and an Executive Committee consisting of William T. Wardell, Chairman; John P. Faure, Secretary; Frederick D. Tappen, Treasurer; together with Dr. George F. Shrady, A. S. Solomons and Dr. A. M. Lesser, to which there were subsequently added: Howard Townsend, Cleveland H. Dodge, William G. Low, Alexander E. Orr, Douglas Robinson, Levi P. Morton, ex-Vice-President of the United States, and Gustav H. Schwab, which together with 27 others formed the General Committee.

This Committee of New York's leading citizens began its work immediately by establishing a Central Station in New York for the receipt of money and supplies, which were shipped expeditiously upon proper requisitions to their points of destination, both to Red Cross agents and when quickly needed, to the U. S. Army Quartermasters, adjacent to or on the battle-field.

Without taking into account the immense quantity of goods donated to the Committee, there was received in cash over \$300,000 for the purchase of emergency necessities for the Armies in the field, which was probably fully two-thirds of the entire amount collected throughout the country for the distribution by the Red Cross and so generous were the persons employed in the New York Branch of the work, that not one cent of the fund raised was paid for clerk hire or rentals.

I, as one of the Executive Committee, was an Incorporator of the National Committee under the Act referred to in this note, and by virtue thereof exercised authority from the initial point of existence of the American National Red Cross Relief Committee, as referred to, until its close.

With this statement of history as a preface, it remains only to state that it would be an ignoble end of the glorious Red Cross in the United States, should the present changed conditions be permitted to prevail, and therefore without casting reflections upon any one it is respectfully asked of your International Society to see to it that a *new* American Association of the Red Cross be created by your Committee in place of the existing one, making as a condition precedent that Miss Clara Barton be its Honorary President during her natural life together with the President of the United States, *ex-officio* during his term of office, and vesting all power for the government of the Association in a Board of Directors, composed of one representative from each State in the United States, appointed by its Governor, with power to fill vacancies, who shall elect from their own number an Active President, a Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, and that the body so formed shall be incorporated by the Congress of the United States or under the General Incorporation Act of the District of Columbia.

Without the slightest ill feeling towards the present President of the Organization, but wholly in the spirit of what is assuredly in its best interests, it is proper to state that a great, living organization like that of the Red Cross should not be controlled by a few persons, not always wisely selected and not accountable to anyone, but by a representative body of men, in the manner referred to in this note, which cannot be too forcibly urged upon your serious attention and immediate consideration.

As I was for twenty years a Vice-President of the American Association of the Red Cross, and a representative of the United States, appointed by President Arthur to the Convention of the Red Cross held in Geneva, I think in 1883, I respectfully ask your action.

This was commented upon by Miss Boardman in the following letter:

Washington, D. C., February 7, 1903.

Dr. Anita McGee kindly sent me to look over the copy of your letter of January 27th to M. Moynier. It is most encouraging to those who have started this effort for a reform in the present conditions of the American Red Cross to realize that they can count on the support of one who for so long was intimately connected with the Red Cross in this country and who was for 20 years a Vice-President. The present effort lies along the very lines of your letter to M. Moynier. The making of Miss Barton Honorary President for life and a reorganization providing for State auxiliaries, each with its representative on a central committee. I am glad to say that with a day or two the chances for such a complete reorganization have greatly heightened.

The charter granted to the present organization by Congress from June 6, 1900 states "the corporation hereby created is designated as the organization which is *authorized to act in matters of relief under said treaty.*" Therefore until this authority is withdrawn by our Government, I think it would be impossible for the International Committee to act upon the matter. However, I trust that the reorganization can be accomplished here without need of assistance from the International Committee and I hope to have the pleasure and the opportunity of talking over the matter with you when you are in Washington if you will kindly arrange a time that will suit your convenience.

Accounts of the meeting of the society are contained in the *Washington Post* and *Star*, as follows:

Red Cross Society Discord. Ten left the Meeting after the Adoption of New By-Laws.

The adoption of an entire new set of by-laws by the Red Cross Society at its annual meeting Tuesday is said to have caused considerable discord. The by-laws were offered by Mrs. Harriet L. Reed of Dorchester, Mass. and are said to have been adopted by a vote of 89 to 13. Many of the votes passed having been proxies. Mr. John W. Foster, former Secretary of State moved that the new by-laws be printed and sent to all members before their adoption but this suggestion was voted down.

Under the new by-laws Miss Clara Barton is elected president of the organization for life and is empowered to appoint an executive

committee of four members and to select the meeting place for the annual convention. These provisions are not satisfactory to the 13 members and 10 of this number left the meeting as soon as the amended by-laws were adopted.

Trouble in Red Cross. Arose over Adoption of Amendment to By-Laws.

What might be termed as a mild state of chaos reigned for a short time at yesterday's session of the annual meeting of the Red Cross Society, and as a result several members withdrew from the assemblage. From what can be learned, the trouble arose over the adoption of an entire new set of by-laws, offered by Mrs. Harriet L. Reed of Dorchester, Mass.

According to a member of the society, the new by-laws were adopted by a vote of 89 to 13. It is further declared that 72 of 89 votes cast in favor of the new by-laws were proxies, obtained, it is said by a statement sent out to the members of the organization to the effect that the President desired a slight revision of the by-laws.

Before the question was put ex-Secretary of State, Mr. John W. Foster, moved that the new by-laws be printed and sent to each member of the Red Cross, in order that they might fully understand for what changes their proxies would be used and that vote upon revision be postponed until the next annual meeting of the organization. Mr. Foster's motion was immediately voted down and the set of new by-laws adopted.

As soon as the result of the vote was announced about 10 of the 13 members who cast their ballots against revision to such a radical extent withdrew from the session, as stated above.

Under the new by-laws Miss Clara Barton is elected president of the Red Cross for life, and empowered to appoint an executive committee composed of four members. Miss Barton has also the right to designate where each annual meeting shall be held.

The new by-laws also say that moneys may be received and expended without passing through the hands of the treasurer. The above features of the new by-laws are considered by many of the members as among the most radical changes made in the constitution of the organization. It was further stated that by the adoption of the new by-laws all previous measures bearing upon the government of the Red Cross are repealed.

Members of the society who voted against the adoption of the latest revision of the by-laws fear that yesterday's proceedings will tend to alienate rather than to excite sympathy. Many of the members also fear that some of the society's best supporters who are opposed to the revision will withdraw from the organization entirely.

These were sent to Geneva to M. Moynier by Mr. Solomons with a note of transmittal dated March 25, as follows:

I enclose for your information, and without comment, a long statement on recent Red Cross matters, published in the *Washington Evening Star* of the 23d instant, and refer you particularly to the letter of the Hon. John W. Foster, late Secretary of State, as named in mine of January 27.

Movement Indorsed. New York Residents Approve Efforts to Reorganize Red Cross.

Below is a copy of a statement, signed by prominent residents of New York indorsing the plan for a reorganization of the Red Cross.⁴

Mr. Simon Wolf, when shown the above this afternoon, said:

"There are a number of members of the Red Cross in Washington coöperating with persons interested in New York and other cities in the effort to reform the business methods of the Red Cross. At no time has there been any desire to asperse the personal character of Miss Clara Barton. It is the persons who surround her and have been using her as a shield to shift responsibilities whom we are after.

"There is no clique, as has been intimated. The persons who are interested in having the Red Cross conducted strictly on business principles are not paid officers of the society. They are vitally interested in having the good work of the Red Cross go on and are willing and anxious to contribute to such work.

"They are desirous only that those who receive and disburse the funds that come into the treasury of the society, shall make a statement of what is done.

"Miss Barton is eighty-two years old. She has accomplished much good. It is the desire of those who are so interested in the success of the Red Cross that she be honorably retired with an annuity, and that the work shall be placed in the hands of a strong man with necessary business methods."

On March 28, 1903, Mr. Solomons wrote Dr. Anita Newcomb McGee as follows:

Sooner than expected there comes the announcement that the Swiss Government has notified our Department of State that it intends to call a conference at Geneva on September 14th next to consider changes proposed to be made in the Red Cross Convention of August 8, 1864 and inviting the United States Government to

⁴ Printed *supra*, p. 222.

send delegates. On pp. 21 and 46 of the pamphlet of the origin and history of the Red Cross which I sent you last week, you will find the Treaties referred to, and as the book was prepared under Miss Barton's direction, it must be accurate! The seed sown last December and transplanted in January, has evidently taken firm root, and I look forward to a glorious crop. Miss Boardman must be gratified.

On May 4, Mr. Solomons wrote to Mr. Simon Wolf as follows:

Yours of April 29th reached me in due course, but on account of not being well I have deferred answer until now.

The reason for my signing the paper prepared by our New York Committee headed by Bishop Potter and brought to me for that purpose, was to endorse any well directed movement for the reorganization of the Red Cross based upon sound business principles.

You are perhaps aware that I have not been actively connected with the Red Cross since the expiration of the first Charter of which I was a member. This Charter expired on July 1, 1901 and the Supply Committee in N. Y. which did such vast work during the Spanish-American War, was an auxiliary under separate management.

At no time have I been cognizant of any dishonorable methods other than a loose and unbusinesslike conduct of its affairs.

On June 5, of the same year, Mr. Solomons wrote to the Hon. David Jayne Hill as follows:

In a conversation had yesterday with our mutual friend, Judge Penfield, in relation to Red Cross matters in this country, I learned that when you left for Switzerland its affairs had not developed into the condition now presented, and the Judge advises after a full presentation of the case to him, that with his assent I call your attention to the facts, having in view of your good offices to see if you cannot unofficially straighten out the matter without forcing an issue by asking Congress, as intended by the Washington Committee, by implication, to cancel the existing Charter of the Red Cross, as granted by Congress on June 6, 1900.

The enclosed copy of my letter to M. Gustav Moynier, dated January 27, 1903, and his reply dated the 25th of February, together with a printed pamphlet, being a Memorial of certain officers of the Red Cross (Document No. 340), presented to the 57th Congress. Also a pamphlet on the Red Cross, by Anita Newcomb McGee, M. D.

The only public action I have taken is to be found on pp. 25 and 30 of the pamphlet, and this at the instance of the Rt. Rev. Bishop

Potter, who was our Chairman of the New York Relief Committee of the Red Cross, which did most of the practical relief work during the Spanish War.

What I desire is that the International Committee of the Red Cross take the initiative in Geneva, and annul their authority first given for the creation of the present American National Red Cross, and create another body with similar functions, as suggested in my letter, provided it be in their power to do so—in which case it will minimize the scandal, and consequent danger of injury to the good name and fame of the Red Cross, to which it is justly entitled, and which will be the inevitable result if the petitioner's claim be granted, after a searching investigation is made.

My connection with the Red Cross for over twenty years as member and Vice-President, is my justification to make this request.

It is proper for me to add that I have never seen a copy of the General Organization of the Red Cross and Programme, to which M. Moynier refers, and there is not a copy to be found in your Department.

I repeat, that this great favor is asked of you to perform unofficially, with your usual tact, and exercise of your unexceptionally good judgment.

If there be any hiatus in my statements, kindly let me know, and I will supply the deficiency.

Perhaps it may not be improper for me to add that just before Mr. Adee left for Europe I had an informal talk with him on the subject, and I understood him to say that he was at one with me in the remedy I propose.

Hoping that you are quite well, and that you will pass a pleasant summer, I am, with much regard

Yours very sincerely,
A. S. Solomons

Mr. Hill replied from the Legation at Berne under date of July 17, 1903 in effect as follows:

. . . not being a member of the Red Cross Society, and having no instructions from my Government on the subject, any action on my part would be considered, probably from every point of view, as unwarranted interference in a matter that did not concern me. Besides, as a public officer I could hardly separate myself as a private person from my official character in a matter having so high a degree of public importance, and any interposition on my part

without the direction of my Government would probably subject me to its disapprobation.

The documents above presented, I believe, more than bear out the statement of Mr. Solomons' active connection with this great society. Undoubtedly for a number of years the organization languished, but, with the breaking out of the Great War, new life was breathed into it by the necessities of the times and it became the most gigantic official or semi-official agency for ameliorating the wounds and disasters that have befallen humanity that the world has ever seen.

CAPTAIN ABRAHAM SIMONS OF THE GEORGIA LINE IN THE REVOLUTION.

By LEON HUHNER, A. M., LL. B.

In a paper, "The Jews of Georgia in the American Revolution,"¹ I sketched the careers of the patriot Jews of Georgia, and pointed out that their participation in the struggle was far beyond their proportion in the population of the colony. The name of Abraham Simons was included in that sketch with the remark, however, that there was nothing in the records to indicate whether he was a Jew.² It was only later that I was able to verify my surmise, and that I found additional, though scanty, material concerning his interesting career.

Wilkes county in Georgia was called the "Hornet's Nest" by the Tories of the period. This county is situated in upper Georgia; its population consisted of rugged frontiersmen; here the war was particularly cruel. After the fall of Savannah in 1779 these frontiersmen were made to feel the full wrath of the British, with a savagery worthy of the Indians.³

Among the colonists of Wilkes county before the outbreak of the Revolution lived Abraham Simons.⁴ We know not whence he came, but he is described as a Jew of strong, plain sense, though uneducated.⁵ He had engaged in trade, in which he had made a large fortune for those days.⁶ When hostilities

¹ *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 17, pp. 89-108.

² *Ibid.*, p. 99.

³ Lucian Lamar Knight, "Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials and Legends," Atlanta, 1914, Vol. II, p. 1040.

⁴ George White, "Historical Collections of Georgia," New York, 1855, p. 682; Knight, *supra*, Vol. I, p. 1058, Vol. II, p. 1043.

⁵ Knight, *supra*, p. 1044; Minnie M. Lane, "Keetle Creek Chapter, D. A. R."

⁶ *Ibid.*

began, he promptly joined the patriot cause and served throughout the war, attaining the rank of captain.⁷ After the conclusion of the struggle he returned to Wilkes county and resided six miles east of Washington, on the Augusta road.⁸

As already stated, he made a large fortune and soon became a man of the world. It is recorded that he became a sporting man, a member of the Augusta jockey club, and entertained lavishly.⁹ His home, which is still standing, was one of the show places of the county, and a local historian in describing it, tells us that upstairs was a very large room for dancing, which even today is known as the ballroom.¹⁰ The building is now used as a convent school in charge of the Catholic sisters of St. Joseph.¹¹

In 1798, Captain Simons married Nancy Mills, a refined woman of an aristocratic family.¹² At the time of her marriage she was twenty-six years of age. Their union seems to have been happy, for the local annalist tells us that she loved her husband and that he was extravagantly proud of her.¹³

⁷ Knight, "Georgia's Roster of the Revolution," Atlanta, 1920, pp. 323, 428, 465, 322, where his name appears on "List of Revolutionary Soldiers from Wilkes County, Georgia, as taken from the Land Lottery Records." See also "Third Annual Report, National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution." Appendix F; Senate Documents. Vol. 16, No. 219, 56th Congress, 2nd Session, 1900-1, pp. 369-393 (Miss Harvey's List of Georgia Soldiers in the Revolution).

⁸ Knight, *supra*, Vol. II, p. 1043; Lane, *supra*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1044.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1046.

¹² Charles Dutton Mallery, "Memoirs of Elder Jesse Mercer," New York, 1844, p. 436; Knight, *supra*, p. 1043; Letter of Dr. H. R. Bernard, Auditor of the Mission Board of the Georgia Baptist Church to Dr. Joseph Jacobs of Atlanta, Oct. 12, 1911. This was Captain Simons' second marriage; his first wife having been the widow Halliday. For this item I am indebted to Thomas B. Branch, Jr., of Atlanta.

¹³ *Ibid.*

Another writer, the Rev. Jesse Mercer, has left us the following picture:

Captain Simons was a man of wealth and of the world, and had a peculiar faculty for the acquisition of property. This he had very much by trading, which drew about him every class of men; besides he took great pleasure in having about him gentlemen of honorable name and worldly pursuits. Mrs. Simons in this way was often placed in the society of all kinds and conditions of men, which might suit the taste and convenience, or serve the interests of her husband. And though such were not the companions of her choice, yet she was always, and under all circumstances, ready to appear and serve, and on all occasions acquitted herself with pleasure to the company, honor to her husband and respect to herself. In this condition she lived for many years in the midst of affluence and worldly splendor.¹⁴

From still another source we learn that Captain Simons was kind, faithful, upright, and popular.¹⁵ He became a member of the Georgia legislature,¹⁶ being one of the earliest Jews to hold that office in the United States. He served in that capacity from 1804 to 1808 representing Wilkes county.¹⁷

He died early in 1824¹⁸ and in this connection a local historian mentions the following eccentricity:

Some time before his death, he had his grave prepared and walled up with solid rock. He left orders that they bury him standing on his feet, with his musket beside him to fight the devil with. These orders were carried out, and the coffin was accordingly placed on end, which necessitated the digging of the grave, twice the usual depth.¹⁹

¹⁴ Mallery, *supra*, p. 436.

¹⁵ Knight, *supra*, p. 1043; Bernard Letter, *supra*.

¹⁶ Lane, Knight, *supra*, p. 1044.

¹⁷ "House Journal," 1804 and 1805, p. 252; 1806, 1807-8, pp. 2, 106. Captain Simons had also been Receiver of Tax Returns in Graves Battalion of Militia, Wilkes county, in 1792 and 1793. See "Rough Executive Minutes," Dec. 20, 1792-Jan. 8, 1793. For the dates of service in both capacities, I am indebted to Thomas B. Branch, Jr., of Atlanta.

¹⁸ Bernard, *supra*; also Knight, *supra*, p. 1043. Both these state that he died before 1827. The above date was secured from the probate of his will.

¹⁹ Knight, *supra*, pp. 1043, 1045; Lane, *supra*.

But our interest in Captain Simons does not end with his demise. He was survived by his widow, who inherited his great fortune.²⁰ She is described as a beautiful, little, dark-eyed woman, who, while not a professed religionist of any faith, entertained ministers and men of culture.²¹ Near her home stood the old brick academy, where preached Rev. Jesse Mercer, one of the foremost Baptist divines of his day.²² In 1827 she married Mr. Mercer,²³ then a man of fifty-eight and practically without means.²⁴ After this marriage she used or permitted her husband to use part of her great means, in the furtherance of Baptist work.²⁵

Mercer was a man of culture, who had been a member of the legislature and of the Georgia constitutional convention.²⁶ He was an enthusiastic religionist and had published a volume of religious verse known as "Mercer's Chisler," later converted into hymns.²⁷ When in 1833 Mrs. Mercer was stricken with paralysis, he became master of the great Simons fortune. In the same year he became the editor of the *Christian Index*, a Baptist organ of Philadelphia, published under the auspices of the Baptist board of foreign missions, and removed the publication to Washington, Ga., purchasing new press and type

²⁰ Will of Abraham Simons, recorded in Will Book H. H. p. 160 of the Ordinary's Office in Wilkes county. The will was probated after a contest by Elizabeth Brooks, testator's daughter by a prior marriage, at March Term, 1824 and the probate affirmed on appeal. Thomas B. Branch, Jr., of Atlanta, kindly secured for me a copy of the will and probate proceedings.

²¹ Knight, *supra*, pp. 1043, 1044; Miss Bowen, "The Story of Wilkes County"; Bernard Letter, *supra*. Rev. Jesse Mercer in his eulogy, after extolling her virtues, says: "But still she was a weak believer." See Mallery, *supra*, pp. 436, 352.

²² Lane, *supra*; Knight, *supra*, p. 1044.

²³ *Ibid.*; Mallery, *supra*, p. 436.

²⁴ Bernard Letter; Knight, *supra*, p. 1043.

²⁵ *Ibid.*; Mallery, *supra*, pp. 109-112.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Knight, *supra*, p. 1045-6.

at his own expense.²⁸ He also became the editor of one of the earliest temperance publications.²⁹

When his wife died in 1834, she left her husband the whole of the Simons fortune.³⁰ Mercer at once made liberal donations to various sectarian institutions, among others Columbian College, Ga., the female Academy at Washington, and other enterprises of the Baptist board of foreign missions.³¹ To quote his biographer C. D. Mallery,

Mercer was not a dollar man. He gave by hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands.³²

Among other benefactions Mercer also purchased an old brick schoolhouse near his home, with a view of establishing a college there.³³ It so happened that about this time a man named Josiah Penfield of Savannah, had left \$2500 to the state Baptist convention, on condition that it raise the same amount, to build a school for the education of young preachers.³⁴ Mercer tried hard to have this school located at Washington, and it was the disappointment of his life that it was located at Penfield. However, he made donations of large sums of money at different times to maintain the college.³⁵ In 1838 the name of the institution was changed to Mercer University,³⁶ which now has over four hundred students and is one of the leading Christian seminaries of the South.³⁷ Mercer died in 1841 leaving his entire estate to the endowment of this college.³⁸

²⁸ *Ibid.*; Mallery, *supra*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Mallery, *supra*, pp. 236-9, 241-2; Knight, Lane, Bernard Letter, *supra*.

³² Mallery, *supra*, p. 236.

³³ *Ibid.*; Knight, *supra*, p. 1046.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

As recently as 1911, Dr. H. R. Bernard, auditor of the mission board of the Georgia Baptist church, in reviewing the history of the university, called special attention to the origin of its endowment. He mentioned that while Mercer was a man of high standing, he had no property other than that which he had inherited from his wife, and that the benefactions to Mercer University from this source had been estimated as high as \$400,000.³⁹ Dr. Bernard's summary concluded as follows:

So you see that Mercer University is largely indebted to the skill and enterprise of a Jewish financier for much the larger part of its life and power. A copious Providence this, which founds a Christian College on Jewish cornerstones.⁴⁰

In conclusion I quote from a landmark sketch by the state historian of Georgia:

Not long ago, I visited the grave of Captain Simons. It is in the roadside in a rock enclosure. No monument or stone tells who is buried there, though he was a Revolutionary soldier and a man of wealth.⁴¹

³⁹ *Ibid.*; Knight, *supra*, p. 1044.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Knight, *supra*, p. 1045.

JELLINEK AND AMERICA.

BY GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT, D.H.L. (*h. c.*)

The centenary (1930) of the death of Adolf Jellinek, the greatest Jewish preacher of his generation, and perhaps the most celebrated Jewish orator of all times, is an event of outstanding importance in a significant decade of centennial birth and death anniversaries of men of note.

In honor of the occasion, Dr. M. Rosenmann, one of the rabbis of Vienna, has just published a volume of nearly 250 pages, entitled *Dr. Adolf Jellinek, Sein Leben und Schaffen* (Vienna, 1931), which gives an admirable sketch of his career and an appraisal of his activities as thinker, scholar, publicist, and preacher. Although distinguished in all these capacities, Jellinek invariably insisted upon being called simply *Prediger*, instead of *Oberrabbiner*, when officially addressed, and it was thus humbly that he signed every communication which emanated from his pen. In the last chapter of his book, Dr. Rosenmann quotes the estimate of several eminent contemporaries concerning Jellinek's power as a rhetorician and orator, including the views of a number of rabbis in Vienna, who are still able to recall with pride the glories of the old imperial *Rezidenzstadt* and thrill at the mention of the names of the picturesque characters they had personally known in the flesh. Jellinek naturally suggests his famous professional colleague Sulzer, the classic composer of synagogue chants, whose golden voice is still remembered, and whose majestic figure, alongside of that of his more distinguished chief, looms large in our affectionate memory.

That Jellinek deeply impressed every one who heard him or who came into occasional personal contact with him, is not to be wondered at. There was that about his swarthy and other-

wise unhandsome physiognomy which drew all eyes. Homeliness can be as fascinating and compelling as beauty when it is touched by the divine spark, as was Jellinek's. His genius captivated the world, and his ready wit and convivial temper made many his devotees.

I have a vivid recollection of hearing him preach in 1884, when I was ten years of age. My sainted father had taken me to Vienna to consult the great physician Nothnagel about my health, and on the Sabbath I had accompanied him to the synagogue where I sat spellbound listening to the world-renowned preacher, whom my father called the "Jewish Demosthenes." I have never forgotten that memorable episode, nor the still more significant visit to Leopold Zunz in the same year. The Nestor of the Science of Judaism looked at me earnestly for a moment, bade me come nearer, and then turning to my father said: *Sie haben wenigstens einen Sohn, der Ihnen ein Buch reichen kann, Ich habe nur einen Papagei!* That great solitary, living alone and completely secluded from the world since the death of his life-consort Adelheid, was waiting for death and querulously complained, like Theodor Nöldeke did during the last days of his life, that the angel Azrael had forgotten him. Zunz died in his ninety-first year and Nöldeke in his ninety-fourth, each easily the most distinguished figure in his own special field of research.

It would be interesting to hear the reminiscences of Dr. Stephen S. Wise, who, during his year of study abroad, spent three months in close association with Jellinek, and who wrote so glowingly of him in his memorial sketch, published in *The Menorah Monthly Magazine* in 1894, where an appreciation from the pen of Dr. M. Kayserling likewise appears (vol. xvi, pp. 137-144, 145-150). Dr. Wise has a photograph of Jellinek taken with himself, which is a precious memento of his sojourn in Vienna. Assuredly a portion of that great preacher's spirit must have descended upon him during the brief period of their intimacy, for his young American col-

league became, with the possible exception of Emil G. Hirsch, the best-known reform pulpiteer and public speaker of his day and generation.

We are especially interested in an utterance touching Jellinek which came from the heart of Solomon Schechter. Writing in the *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift* (1894, p. 66; Rosenmann, p. 208), he said:

It is quite impossible to convey to those who had never heard him, an idea of the significance of his sermons to the man in the pew. They were so perfect in style and content that the congregation was always deeply stirred by them. Above all, they were distinguished by their true Jewish spirit, and one had the impression of listening to those moving exhortations in the ancient *Pesikta*, albeit transfigured by the touch of modern culture and philosophy. His conversation was no less instructive and stimulating. The late Isidor Loeb, who had made the personal acquaintance of not a few European celebrities, once told me that Jellinek's was the most illuminating mind he had ever known.

In the preface to his memorial biography, Dr. Rosenmann named some of the great master-preachers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, forerunners and contemporaries of Jellinek in the art of Jewish homily. Among them is mentioned my own sainted father, for whose coming to America Jellinek was directly responsible. It was he who, acting upon the suggestion of Isidor Busch, recommended him to the New York congregation, whose pulpit had been made vacant by the death of Adolph Huebsch, Alexander Kohut's predecessor in office.

Like Huebsch, Busch came of Bohemian stock. He had distinguished himself in Vienna as a writer and publisher and friend of the Christian printer, Anton Edler von Schmid, conjointly with whom he issued his celebrated *Jahrbücher*, which contain contributions by the most representative Jewish scholars of the day, notably Zunz, Jost, Kaempfer, Steinschneider, and others.

Following an unsuccessful attempt to launch an emigration movement to the United States, in company with the novelist

Eduard Kulke, Sigmund Herzl, and Simon Szánto, afterwards founder and publisher of the *Neuzeit* which later on Jellinek edited, Busch, like so many of his coreligionists who could no longer endure the political pressure at home, migrated to St. Louis in that critical revolutionary year, 1848, and immediately began the publication of *Israel's Herald*, the earliest German-Jewish periodical in America (*The American Hebrew*, April 15, 1887) which had but a brief career. No complete copies of it are known to exist in any public library.¹

The *Auf nach Amerika* episode, in 1848, in which he had taken so prominent a part as co-editor with the well-known litterateur, Dr. M. Letteris, editor of the *Oesterreichisches Central-Organ für Glaubensfreiheit, Cultur, Geschichte und Literatur der Juden*, was a hectic journalistic campaign while it lasted. Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg has adverted to it in this Society's *Publications*.² The project, so jubilantly hailed and so enthusiastically supported by a committee of Austrian and Bohemian Jews, was nipped in the bud by that great political upheaval which shook Europe to its foundations. It is interesting to note in this connection that Robert Blum and Hermann Jellinek, a brother of Adolf, fell a victim to their unyielding convictions. They were executed for high treason and earned for themselves imperishable fame.

Here again I may be pardoned for interpolating a personal note. On the Sabbath, coincident with February 11, 1887, on my *Bar Mitzwah* after divine service, still under the spell of my father's fervent apostrophe to me, there was among those who gathered around him to greet him and to felicitate him upon his more than ordinarily eloquent sermon, a dear little old man with a shock of silvery white hair and with features as delicate as a child's, who seized both my father's hands in his own, kissed him unceremoniously on the cheek

¹ *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 26, p. 273.

² *Supra*, No. 23, pp. 187-189.

and said, *Grüss Gott, Kohut!* Then, turning to me, he fixed me with his eyes, the bluest blue I had ever seen, and said, "You must be worthy of your father!" Thereupon he kissed me too, and said, "God bless you, my boy!"

That man was Isidor Busch, who had made a name for himself in America through his social service activities and more especially by the establishment of the first Jewish fraternal organization known everywhere as the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, with branches in some of the more important cities in German-speaking lands. He himself has written an excellent history of the order, which was reprinted after serial publication in the columns of *The American Hebrew*, to which journal, as well as to several others, he was a frequent contributor.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the order was observed in October, 1893, with much éclat. Upon that occasion, Jellinek sent a message of congratulation at the invitation of Moritz Ellinger, editor of *The Menorah Monthly Magazine*. It bore the caption, "*The Jewish Star-Spangled Banner*. To the Semi-Centennial Jubilee of the Order B'nai B'rith in America." It was printed in English in *The Menorah* (1893, vol. xv, pp. 205-206) and in German in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (Berlin, September 22, 1893, pp. 446-447). This congratulatory *Festgruss* runs as follows:

Israel has its star-spangled banner, not only for the reason of its being blessed in Scripture under the sign of the stars, but because it is to resemble the stars of heaven by its life and work.

Israel should light up the darkness. When the night of enslavement and oppression breaks in upon the history of nations, it must shed rays by its love for liberty, and by the strong conviction that liberty may be obscured but not extinguished.

Light generates warmth and is a symbol of brotherly love.

Israel should be a bright example of love to its fellow-man without distinction of race and creed. Its mouth gives consolation to the bereaved, its arm lifts up the depressed, its hand opens to the needy,

the aged, the widow and the orphan, the forsaken and the helpless, the stranger; its heart is a sacred altar upon which burns the fire of purest humanity.

Israel's star-spangled banner signifies truth, peace, justice, fidelity, love of fellow-man, fraternal sympathy, help, assistance, redemption, cheerfulness in the granting of relief, a perfect humanity.

The order B'nai B'rith, which will celebrate its semi-centennial jubilee in a few weeks, has unfolded the star-spangled banner of Israel in a most praiseworthy manner. The widows and orphans for which it cares, the sick which it heals, the aged which it assists, the schools which it founded, the books which it disseminates, the strangers which it takes by the hand, bear sympathy of its God-pleasing and praise-worthy activity for the last fifty years.

Our greeting to the order! We send it our congratulations from the Old World. May it continue to flourish, to prosper and continue its work for the welfare of its fellow-men, for the honor of Judaism.

There will be no lack of work as long as men age, as long as men die, as long as widows and orphans moan, as long as the poor, the destitute and the stranger need help; as long as the young need instruction and humanity has to be lifted up. In the icy North they are oppressed, driven into exile, our poor coreligionists! They hie their way to the holy land of liberty! There they need advice, guidance, material assistance. May they receive it through the efforts of the B'nai B'rith.

All of us, confessors of Judaism, dispersed in all the five continents, are nothing else but B'nai B'rith! Sons of the Covenant we desire to be and to so remain!

Jellinek had sent a similar message of felicitation and good will upon the occasion of the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America which was likewise printed in the *Menorah* for 1892, vol. xiii, pp. 252-253, preceded by the German original. It was entitled "Two drastic tests, a tribute to the Columbian celebration," and ran:

Russia and America are the sharpest contrasts upon the active arena of national life. Russia means an equivalent of enslavement, oppression, guardianship, torturing of conscience, condemnation of free speech, cruelty, disregard of human rights and human duty. Russia is the bear's paw, the knout, Siberia, the irresponsible domination of one single mortal being.

America is freedom of speech, of conscience, the utilization of every talent, the unhindered movement of the individual, the union

of millions of individual wills into one will; America is the star-spangled banner, luminous and lustrous, encircling the sun of liberty; America is the political spectrum comprising all the colors and shades of political, religious and social liberty.

In both these great states, there where the spirits are crushed down and there where the banner of liberty waves high in the air, live the professors of Judaism, in which they furnish the test of the invincible power and the irrepressible vitality of Judaism. With incomparable courage brave the Russian Jews all the outbursts of fanaticism, all the blows of cruelty, all the effects of Caesarian arbitrariness. Nothing can induce the Russian Jews to break their fealty to the faith of their fathers. In Russian Egypt, Judaism was like a pyramid; all the hammers of tyranny cannot shatter Judaism.

In America our co-religionists furnish a test which is perhaps of greater importance still for the future of Judaism. It prospers and blooms in the atmosphere of liberty. No burden of taxation, no statute imposed by the state, no law compelling affiliation with a congregation, or the choosing of a rabbi, or the establishment of a religious school.

Judaism in America is left to itself, its continuance entrusted to the fidelity of faith, to the enthusiasm, the willingness of bringing sacrifices, the piety of its confessors. Well, then, what a sight American Judaism presents! It erects the most magnificent synagogues, extends calls to accomplished and learned rabbis, erects institutions for their education and training, provides for the religious instruction of the growing generation, as well as for the needs of the religious laws. All this done of free will, without any external compulsion, without police force, without municipal or governmental interference. American Judaism is a movement of the heart; it draws its life-sap from the Jewish heart—the faithful Jewish heart—which is the best guarantee for the preservation of Judaism.

At the Columbian celebration in the month of October, the American Jews can exclaim, with joyous conscientiousness, "Columbus has discovered this New World, and we prove that we conserve our old ideal world of Judaism in living force and freshness upon American soil." We are living witnesses that the sun of liberty is as incapable of melting Judaism *aere perennius*, as the power of oppression can obscure it. We chant a psalm of liberty which begins with the words: "Judaism dies not, but lives and tells the wonders of God."

A few years ago when the Vienna community, as a result of the devastation caused by the war, suffered such serious reverses as to necessitate special help from America, which it

secured mainly through the blessed activity of Chief Rabbi H. P. Chajes, several attempts were made to dispose of some of the unpublished sermons of Jellinek in holograph. Specimens were sent to various persons, including Dr. Stephen S. Wise, but so far as I know a purchaser for the collection, still in private hands, could not be found.

Dr. Rosenmann too repeatedly tried to interest American friends in acquiring the custody of these MS. treasures. He sent me the rhetorically and stylistically magnificent memorial address, delivered upon the death of the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico in the *Stadttempel* in the Seitenstettengasse in Vienna, June 19, 1867. This oration, the publication of which Dr. Rosenmann had conceded to me as a special privilege, he has now printed in full in the original text (pp. 131-134 of his book). Inasmuch as it is described by those who heard it as the utterance of a man of extraordinary moral courage, whose own heart must have recalled the tragic political assassination of his brother, Hermann, the address is still worth reproducing in an English translation—all the more, as it is, in a certain sense, a document which ought to find a place of honor in the archives of the American Jewish Historical Society.³

These decorations of mourning in the temple, and the Hebrew elegies which you have just heard chanted, are designed to honor a dynamic and richly-dowered prince, his majesty, Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph, Emperor of Mexico, a noble scion of our exalted imperial house, now sadly stricken by the hand of death; he fell in his prime, a loyal sacrifice to his followers and fellow-fighters.

Who can believe the story that a man, born in the shadow of a consecrated throne, and himself wearing the proud imperial crown, should have been suffered to go a helpless victim to the place of execution and to become associated in death with those who dared raise their voice and hand for the establishment and amelioration of a new regime! And yet that incredible thing has happened and we still behold our majestic monarch, whose imperial reprieve had only

³ There is a reference to the *Neuzeit*, 1867, p. 356, and to Jellinek's *Gelegenheitsreden*, p. 67, which I have not verified.

latterly opened the gates of the fatherland to all the proscribed and banished, plunged in anguish over the violent death of his august brother. We too are deeply prostrated by the woe of the imperial parents, grieving for their beloved son, whose great and noble heart has been pierced by the bullets of a court-martial. Ah, death shows no preference; its iron sceptre lays low the mighty and humble alike. Its arrows wound as deeply the heart of a princely mother, as that of the most insignificant in the multitude.

And whom does this terrible deed affect more powerfully than us, the children of Israel, descendants of Judah, who are gathered in this house of God? Our history relates that David not only spared the life of his royal arch-enemy, Saul, but bitterly reproached Abner, his general, for sleeping and failing to protect his imperial chief with his very life. And there in Mexico a servant betrays his lord and emperor for traitorous gold. He watches wide-awake in order to surrender his slumbering prince into the hands of his enemies! We, scions of a race in whose heart the family-sense reigns supreme and who cling to family ties with all the tenacity of our being, feel all too keenly and far more deeply and vividly than any other people in our fatherland, the pains and sorrows which afflict the souls of our exalted imperial masters, as they visualize that bloody massacre at the scene of execution at Queretaro! Who would not cry out with the Psalmist, "Why oh God, dost Thou stand at a distance; Thou hast hidden Thyself at the time of the direst need!" "Why," ye mortals ask. Because, reads the answer of God, as conveyed by the mouth of His prophet, "My thoughts are not your thoughts, My ways are not your ways."

For centuries a heavy crime has rested upon the conscience of most of the states of Europe. It is that paragraph in the official penal code which metes out death to all men, who, often because of their enthusiastic zeal for the national ideal, or because of their own illusion, attempt, in their perfervid blindness and in the high exultation of their pride, to throw over the established order. Men of might and leading have ventured to raise their voices, in their writings and in legal assembly, against this political death-penalty. They have challenged, in the name of justice, the right to punish political offenses in the manner accorded to common murderers; but they were denounced as visionaries who were incapable of appraising the higher demands of social polity, thereby furnishing to their contemporaries dishonorable evidence of the fact that they were not yet mature enough to accept a higher and humaner concept of the functions of the state.

And now, O ye kings, get insight; be ye forewarned, ye judges of the earth!

The constant reproofs of the philosophers and popular orators have failed to move you or to convince you. Perchance a single dreadful deed, one epochal episode like the death of a prince, which has shattered a million hearts, will finally rouse you and startle you, so that you, at length enlightened, may be resolved to strike out the political death-penalty from your legal code.

Hear the message which just a little while ago has been read in the Jewish places of worship everywhere. In the days of Moses, a man from the tribe of Levi, abetted by a rebellious horde, attempted a revolt, the object of which was to destroy the established order in Israel. What happened? The earth opened and swallowed the evil-doer and all his following. No doubt there are not a few who smile indulgently at the outcome of this revolt. Nevertheless, the ancient narrative deserves to be taken into consideration by the legislators of our own day, for it proves to us that Moses, whose supreme authority had been imperilled, would not besmirch his hand with the blood of the rebellious, popular sycophant Korah, but left his punishment to the disposition of Providence. And in this wise should the judges of our own time conduct themselves, in similar contingencies, whether they wear a military mantle or a cloak of peace, disdaining to exercise their power over life and death whenever they are called upon to judge political iniquity. Verily, "My thoughts are not thy thoughts, My ways are not thy ways." This applies more especially to the history of the commonwealth and to universal history. Providence leads nations in singular ways, which seem inexplicable and which very frequently bring us face to face with problems, whose solution for the moment completely baffles us, however we strive to unravel them. But lo! no sooner we assume an attitude of lofty detachment, than it all becomes clearer, brighter, freer, and the hidden mysteries of divine destiny are plainly revealed to our sight.

Just such an awful, incredible deed, enacted on the soil of Queretaro, prostrating the hearts and devastating the souls of countless thousands in the Old World and the New, may be taken as a stern and deeply earnest warning to all the princes, legislators, and magistrates throughout the globe, effectually to eliminate the death-penalty from the statute books and to expiate this great, noble, and uncommon sacrifice by a single world-historic act of justice. Not by outward signs and symbols of sorrow at the courts of Europe and not by monuments of bronze and stone is the memory of a prince to be signally honored, who, true to his high ideals and to his illustrious historic traditions and loyal to his valiant associates, laid down his life and with it his exalted station on earth in a manner seldom vouchsafed to any mortal,

but rather through a deed which will make him the benefactor of mankind and will at once place him in the forefront of those who, by their death, create a new epoch in human history.

According to a dictum of our sages, the souls of martyrs, of those inspired men who go to their death for the sake of a great idea, for truth, freedom and righteousness, for the welfare and salvation of their fellowmen, precede in rank all other pious saints that dwell in the shadow of the heavenly throne. The devout spirit of this noble prince, mourned by millions, is therefore destined to take a leading place in the realms of the blest, amid that great host of world-renowned martyrs. May he, through one fine act of clemency, humanity and reconciliation, be accorded a foremost place in the annals of mankind!⁴

This address would have caused considerable comment had it been delivered by any other courageous individual than Jellinek, says Dr. Rosenmann. But, falling from his lips, it had a higher significance, recalling as it did, the tragic destiny of his own brother, Hermann Jellinek, who had been tried by a so-called tribunal of justice and executed by the state on November 23, 1848. It was after this brother that he named one of his sons, Max Hermann, born one year later, May 29, 1868.

It is my privilege to call attention to a memorable address by this great preacher touching another martyred saint, who is nearer and dearer to American hearts than Maximilian of Mexico. It is a memorial sermon or rather an elaborate peroration at the end of a lengthy discourse delivered on the Sabbath, April 18, 1890, in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Abraham Lincoln. The text runs:

As we remember our own beloved dead, who, it is our pious fancy, still abide with us and make our lives richer and spiritually happy, so we must turn with uplifted hearts and with shining eyes to behold the image of a great people's leader, martyred in the cause of liberty and human rights.

Not in vain do we invoke the spirits of our beloved dead. They come at our bidding and enter into our solemn and wistful moods.

⁴ *Cp. Publications, supra*, No. 32, p. 65 *et seq.*

They are not so far away in the realms of eternal peace, as to be oblivious of our need of them, when our hearts summon them to come to our side.

Thus do we this day recall the noble and never-to-be-forgotten figure of the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, President of that powerful Democracy, which opened its hospitable doors to the submerged and depressed and rejected of many nations and into whose compassionate arms not a few of our own Jewish compatriots, driven from their homes and firesides by an unholy persecution, fled for solace and protection. Under Providence, they made their way safely through the raging seas; they hewed their own path through the storied forests, traversed in travail and hardship the far-stretching plains, and found at length that peace and quietude and tranquillity, which made their settlement in a foreign clime a thing of romance and high adventure rather than a ruthless ordinance of Fate.

It is in their second home in America that they found a resting-place, a veritable city of refuge, when hounded by the myrmidons of might, intent upon wreaking vengeance for political crimes. There, remote from the avenging sword and from the insensate fury of the firing squad, they could live out their lives in happy reminiscence of their earlier days of security and contentment in the old fatherland.

And if God so willed that this serenity should be disturbed by a fratricidal war which mayhap brought back all the horrors of those ghastly and sanguinary days which those refugees had providentially escaped by crossing the intervening seas, at least they had the satisfaction of fighting by the side of their own kindred, in a cause as sacred and significant as any struggle for the inalienable rights of man that has ever shaken the world.

We remember our brethren who perished in the great American Civil War. We see before us the inspired and glorified countenance of Lincoln who, a second Moses, wist not that his face shone and who, not unlike the Israelitish law-giver, spent many days and nights in sad and solitary communion upon the heights, close to the heart of his Maker, from whom he sought to secure, through prayer and meditation that physical endurance and spiritual fortitude which he needed, in order to lead his people from darkness into light. That classic colossal figure of the American Moses beckons us still. We salute him!

We revere and venerate him, the saviour of the state, the preserver of the principle of national unity, the noble, transfigured martyr who belongs to the world and whose life-story is one of the precious legacies of mankind!

Nothing more thrilling and eloquent has yet been spoken of Abraham Lincoln. Certainly, among *The Tributes of the Synagogue*, that stately volume of utterances from the American Jewish pulpit, edited by Emanuel Hertz, no higher homage than this of Jellinek's can be found. It is at once simple and moving. We almost see the serried ranks of those expatriates who had fought and bled and died heroically that the Union might live.

It remains to be recorded that the original holograph of this memorial sermon is no longer extant. A faulty and garbled transcript of it from the German was presented to me by a friend in Vienna, who had consulted the author's own copy in possession of a member of his family. This friend attests the authenticity of the text from which an imperfect rendering in English had been made by one who had a very scant knowledge of the idiom of our common speech. Nevertheless, through the dim and faded palimpsest, we can distinguish the words of the master who wrote this noble invocation with all the fervor of his passionate heart. It is a glowing appraisal of the greatest American by perhaps the greatest Jewish preacher of all time. As such, it becomes our privilege to prize it and cherish it as one of the treasured household-relics of American Jewish history.

NOTES.

IS HAYM SALOMON MENTIONED IN THE RESPONSA OF ARYEH LOEB BEN HAYYIM Breslau?

Aryeh Loeb ben Hayyim Breslau, a well known eighteenth-century rabbinical scholar, was born in Breslau, Germany, in 1741 and died at Rotterdam, Holland, in 1809. Many of his distinguished contemporaries such as Phineas Hurwitz, Isaiah Berlin, David Tevele Schiff and others, submitted to him various questions of rabbinical law for his decision. Both his knowledge of secular subjects and his thorough familiarity with rabbinical lore contributed to his popularity. The *Pene Aryeh*, a collection of his responsa (Amsterdam, 1790), is marked by a fine Hebrew style, simplicity and clarity of expression, devoid of rhetorical flourishes and revealing a seriously keen intellect. In this collection of responsa by Breslau, there is one (No. 41) addressed to Gumpel Wolfenbüttel regarding a charitable gift made by "the philanthropist Reb Hayyim of Philadelphia," הנריב הרר'ח שבפילדלפיה for a poor man, who prior to the arrival of the gift became no longer in need of charitable help. Under the circumstances what disposition was to be made of the money? Breslau decided that, inasmuch as the motive of the donor was a purely religious one and the gift was intended for charity, the one for whom it was originally meant should accept the money, but dispose of it in the spirit in which it was given, as a gift to the needy and distressed.

Who was the "Hayyim of Philadelphia" who was so generous as to send gifts to the poor in a foreign land? Is he perhaps to be identified with Haym Salomon? Mr. Edward D. Coleman suggests that it is not unlikely that the "Hayyim of Philadelphia" is identical with Hyman Marks (1772-1825) who was prominent as a merchant, active in Freemasonry and served as president of Congregation Mikve Israel.

JOSHUA BLOCH.

EARLY JEWS IN MIDDLESEX COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.

The boards of proprietors divided New Jersey into East and West Jersey. The capital of the former was Perth Amboy, that of the

latter Burlington. The Governor and his Council, the Assembly, Courts and entire government became established shortly after 1685 at Perth Amboy.

The records of the County Courts of Middlesex County contain several records relating to Jews hitherto undiscovered or unpublished in the proceedings of the Society.¹

The earliest record is the case of Abraham Delucena against Thomas Bloomfield for £7 on May 21, 1718, at a court of common pleas held at Perth Amboy for the Counties of Middlesex and Somerset. The case was discontinued but another case is recorded between the same parties in the same court for £10 on November 18, 1719, in which Delucena obtained a judgment.

From 1719 to 1752 Aaron Louzada and Moses Louzada were prolific litigants in the Middlesex, Somerset and Hunterdon County Courts, having a case at almost every term. In the New Jersey Supreme Court the Louzadas appeared mostly as plaintiffs and only twice as defendants.

There are 25 cases recorded in Middlesex County, 12 in Hunterdon and 65 in Somerset. Eight cases are recorded in the Supreme Court Minute Book. The business they conducted was large for those times.

The records contain several references to this family. Those for February 19, 1729 state:

Aaron Louzada's case against Adolph Hardenbrook to settle the controversy. His case against William Macatie was on an attachment which was called for three successive terms when auditors gave him judgment.

In the *Miscellanies of the Jewish Historical Society of England* part i, p. xxxiii, there is a record of passes issued April 17, 1696 to Abraham Baruch Louzada, David Baruch Louzada, his son, and Rebecca Baruch Louzada to go to Barbados. Some future historian may so trace their family migration to this country.

Aaron Louzada witnessed the will of Jan Koeners at Millstone in Somerset County on May 2, 1719. His will, dated December 7, 1764, was proved January 30, 1765 and recorded in Book H. of East Jersey Wills, p. 486, in the Secretary of State's Office at Trenton. An abstract is appended to this note.

Moses Louzada died intestate in 1750. His son Jacob was a lunatic and Abraham Abrahams, his brother-in-law, who married a daughter of Moses, was his guardian. When Jacob became of age, the letters

¹ See *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 17, p. 33 et seq.

were revoked on a legal technicality. I have abstracted this proceeding for its genealogical value and appended it also.

Daniel Nunez sat as one of the justices of the peace in the Quarter Sessions Court on August 21, 1722. This is the only time he sat. He was ordered to issue his warrant for the apprehension of several persons against whom the grand jury had found presentments. On the day following his sitting, there are further records of law suits against him by Nathan Simson for £100, by Abraham Isaac for £12 and Mordecai Gomez for £120. From the fact that he had business with these parties, unquestionably Jews, I assume that Daniel Nunez was a Jew. There is a record of a Daniel Nunez da Costa in New York in 1728.² Was he the same person? There are further references to the same name in the *Publications*.

Daniel Nunez was plaintiff in three cases in 1722 against non Jewish defendants. Da Costa was probably dropped when he was in business in Piscataway in Middlesex County.

Dr. Samuel Nunez Ribiero was frequently called Dr. Nunez.³ In dealings among colonists he found it easier to use his first and second name. In the records of Congregation Shearith Israel of New York Daniel Nunez da Costa spelled his name with a final s and z in Nunez promiscuously. Sometimes his signature omitted the a in Da and he wrote his name "De." The last date of any of his writing is 1756.⁴

Daniel Nunez was therefore one of the earliest Jews to hold public office, as town clerk of Piscataway and justice of the peace for Middlesex County, in America.

On July 21, 1724, Rodrigo Pachero was a plaintiff in two cases, and on May 4, 1725 Simson and others, executors of Samuel Levy obtained a judgment. On January 19, 1731 David Machudo sued for £8. On July 20 in the same year David Franks, sued Cor. Solem, who probably was not a Jew. The defendant came into court and deposited £7: 15s, New York money, in full discharge of his debt and costs. The court ordered the plaintiff then to proceed at his peril.

On July 21, 1741 Moses Louzada was a plaintiff and on the following day there is a similar record for Isaacs Levy. In October of the same year Levy & Isaacs had a defendant committed to the custody of the sheriff after his special bail and surrendered him. The record stated that in April, 1743, Moses Louzada was a non-resident; so he

² *Publications, supra*, No. 21, p. 7.

³ *Publications, supra*, No. 22, p. 158.

⁴ *Publications, supra*, No. 21, p. 181.

was ordered to give security for costs before proceeding with his suit. Where was he then living? At the following term the defendant in this case sued Moses Louzada and they agreed to settle their differences by arbitration. The same defendant also sued Aaron Louzada in April, 1744; the case was adjourned. In July 1744, Isaac Polock sued these parties, one of the cases involving £65, being settled by arbitration. Judah Mayers held a bondsman on the escape of the principal on October 8, 1745.

* * *

December 7, 1764, will of Aaron Louzada of Bridgewater, Somerset County, merchant; "Being of old age." Wife, Blume Louzada, £200, and the use of the real and personal estate to bring up my children. Children to be put to trades. To Benjamin Louzada, and Abigel Louzada, children of Moses Louzada, £50 each. Executors: my wife, and my friends Samson Simson, of New York, and Henrick Fisher, of Somerset County. Witnesses: James Coun, Josiah Stanbury, Elizah V. Court. Proved January 30, 1765.

March 7, 1765. Inventory £466: 10: 8 made by Josiah Stanbury, Elizah V. Court. Liber H, page 486. (*New Jersey Archives*, vol. xxxiii, p. 259.)

* * *

On April 21, 1762 a petition was filed by Abraham Abrahams, stating that Moses Louzada of Somerset County, merchant, died intestate in 1750, leaving a widow and several children, and that Hannah Louzada, his widow, took out letters of administration; that her husband had an estate in Middlesex and Somerset Counties, which descended to Jacob Louzada, the oldest son and heir, that Jacob Louzada had for several years been a lunatic, and that the petitioner's wife was the daughter of the said Moses Louzada, and sister of said Jacob Louzada.

On February 24, 1764, it appearing that the letters of guardianship had been granted without inquisition, and not in due form, and that Jacob Louzada, who was now of age, had applied to vacate said letters that he might take possession of the estate as heir-at-law, said letters were revoked and made void. Liber H, pp. 134, 332. (*Ibid.*, p. 260.)

GEORGE J. MILLER.

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CONSTITUTION.

NAME.

I. The name of this Society shall be the "American Jewish Historical Society."

OBJECTS.

II. The objects shall be the collection, preservation, and publication of material having reference to the settlement and history of Jews on the American Continent, and the promotion of the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent.

MEMBERS.

III. Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying five dollars; and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of five dollars.

On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life member exempt from fees.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a patron of the Society by paying the sum of fifty dollars a year in fees; and transfers, on request, may be made from regular membership to the class of patrons. Patrons shall have all the rights and privileges of members.

Persons may be elected as honorary members and be exempt from the payment of fees; but no honorary member shall be elected except by the unanimous vote of the Executive Council.

Persons approved by the Executive Council may be elected as corresponding members, and be exempt from the payment of fees.

Any member who shall have neglected or omitted to pay his annual dues for three successive years shall, on notice to him from the Treasurer of that fact and of this provision, *ipso facto* cease to be a member of this Society unless within one month after said notice he pays all of his dues in arrears or shall be excused therefrom by the Executive Council of the Society, which is hereby authorized on proper grounds to remit said dues.

OFFICERS.

IV. The officers shall be a President, four or more Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Curator, and an Executive Council, consisting of the foregoing officers and of twelve other members elected by the Society, with the ex-presidents of the Society. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the Society. The additional members of the Executive Council shall be elected as provided in and by Section 3 of Article II of the By-Laws of the Society.

COUNCIL.

V. The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Society, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

AMENDMENTS.

VI. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

MEMBERS.

Section 1. The dues of members of the Society, including those elected between the 1st day of October and the 1st day of April in a fiscal year, shall be payable annually on the 1st day of October for said fiscal year in advance. Those joining as members between the 1st day of April and the 1st day of October in a fiscal year shall at such time pay dues only for the current half-year, proportionately, and thereafter shall pay full yearly dues in advance on the 1st day of October in each year.

Section 2. The fiscal year shall extend and include from the 1st day of October to the 30th day of September next ensuing in each calendar year.

Section 3. The President and the Corresponding Secretary, whenever the Society or its Executive Council is not in session, shall have the power to act upon applications for membership in the Society.

Section 4. Members whose dues are more than one year in arrear on the 1st day of October, at the opening of a new fiscal year, shall not be entitled to receive such publications as the Society may thereafter issue until and unless such dues in arrears shall have been fully liquidated.

ARTICLE II.

OFFICERS, ETC.

Section 1. The term for which officers of the Society shall be chosen is one year and until their successors shall have been duly elected and qualified.

Section 2. Vacancies occurring in the term of any officer of the Society shall be filled by the vote of a majority of the members of the Executive Council, present at any meeting thereof, for the remainder of said term.

Section 3. The term for which additional members of the Executive Council of the Society shall be chosen is three years and until

their successors shall have been duly elected and qualified. At the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Society twelve additional members of the Executive Council shall be chosen, of whom four shall hold office as such for one year, four for two years, and four for three years, in accordance with the action of the Society at such annual meeting. The successors of each of said additional members of the Executive Council shall thereafter hold office as hereinbefore first provided.

Section 4. Vacancies occurring in the term of any additional member of the Executive Council of the Society shall be filled, until the annual meeting of the Society thereafter, by the vote of a majority of the members of the Executive Council, present at any meeting thereof. At the annual meeting of the Society thereafter, such vacancies shall be filled by election by the Society for the remainder of said original term.

Section 5. Officers of the Society and additional members of the Executive Council, who have served as such for at least twenty-five consecutive years, may be chosen honorary members of the Executive Council of the Society by vote of the members thereof at any stated meeting of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE III.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

Section 1. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and the Executive Council, fix the time and place for holding the meetings of the latter, appoint members of all committees when not named in resolutions, fill vacancies therein, and add to the membership thereof when requested to do so by the chairmen thereof. He shall have a general supervision of the Society and be *ex officio* a member of all committees.

Section 2. In case of the death, resignation or inability of the President to perform his duties, his functions and powers shall devolve upon the Vice-Presidents in the order of seniority respectively. If the President and all the Vice-Presidents shall be absent from any meeting of the Society or its Executive Council, a chairman *pro tempore* shall be chosen for such meeting by the members present thereat.

Section 3. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, under the direction of the President. He shall have charge of the Seal, Charter, Constitution, By-Laws

and records of the Society and certify or attest all instruments from the Society. He shall issue all notices of meetings, and notify all members of their election and of such other matters as may be directed by the Society, the Executive Council or the President. He shall receive, duly file and safely keep all papers, reports and documents, other than those appertaining to the Treasurer and the Curator, belonging to the Society, and at each meeting of the Society or the Executive Council report such letters and communications, as far as practicable, as he may have received since the time of his previous report. He shall distribute the minutes of meetings of the Executive Council among the members thereof within two weeks after each meeting has been held, and generally perform such other duties for the Society's business and development as may be necessary, proper and requisite.

Section 4. The Recording Secretary shall keep fair and accurate records of the minutes of each meeting of the Society and its Executive Council, and promptly transmit the same, after each has adjourned, to the Corresponding Secretary.

Section 5. The Treasurer shall receive, collect and hold subject to the order of the Executive Council all moneys, securities and other valuable papers of the Society, deposit all moneys in one or more banks or trust companies in the City of New York or elsewhere, approved by the Executive Council, pay all bills when the same are accompanied by vouchers drawn, signed and approved by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly, and render a financial report at each regular meeting of the Society and each meeting of the Executive Council. On the 1st day of April and the 1st day of October in each fiscal year he shall send bills for unpaid dues to the members of the Society, and shall notify the Corresponding Secretary of all changes and terminations in the membership of the Society. He shall notify the Corresponding Secretary on the 1st days of March and November in each fiscal year of all the members who on such dates shall be in arrears for dues, and the amounts of such arrearages.

Section 6. The Curator, under the direction of the Executive Council, shall have charge and superintendence of the library and collections of the Society, and the care and arrangement of the books, manuscripts and other articles belonging to the Society. He shall cause to be prepared and kept to date a proper catalogue and list of the same, and shall acknowledge the receipt of accessions donated to the Society. He shall expend in the purchase of

books and other articles, and for their safekeeping and preservation, such sums of money, with the approbation of the Executive Council or the President, as shall from time to time be appropriated for the purpose, and render proper vouchers therefor to the Executive Council. He shall make a full report, at each regular annual meeting of the Society, on the condition and progress of the library and the collections of the Society.

ARTICLE IV.

MEETINGS.

Section 1. There shall be held not less than two stated meetings of the Executive Council in each fiscal year. Written notice thereof shall be sent to each member of the Executive Council at least two weeks in advance thereof.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Executive Council shall be called upon the written request of at least five members thereof.

Section 3. Six members of the Executive Council shall be the requisite number for a quorum to transact business at any meeting thereof.

Section 4. Fifteen members of the Society shall be the requisite number for a quorum to transact business at any meeting thereof.

Section 5. Nothing herein contained shall operate to prevent the Society or its Executive Council from voting upon any proposition laid before either or both by mail.

ARTICLE V.

COMMITTEES.

Section 1. The following standing committees, namely: on publication, finance, and audit, shall be appointed by the President at the regular annual meeting of the Society, or within thirty days after the termination thereof, to hold office until their successors are appointed.

Section 2. The committee on publication shall consist of not less than three nor more than five members, who must be officers of the Society or additional members of its Executive Council. It shall have charge of preparing, editing and issuing the publications of the Society, and has the authority by delegation from the Executive Council to determine what papers shall be published.

Section 3. The committee on finance shall consist of at least three members, of whom the Treasurer shall be one, all of whom shall be members of the Executive Council. It shall have charge of the investments of the Society, with full power to make or alter any such in its discretion, and shall supervise and foster the permanent fund of the Society. Investments of the funds of the Society shall be limited to such as are lawful for savings banks and trustees in the State of New York, pursuant to the laws thereof made and provided from time to time.

Section 4. The committee on audit shall consist of two members. Its duty shall be to audit and examine the Treasurer's accounts and the vouchers thereunto appertaining and to report the result of its examination to the President or the Executive Council.

Section 5. A special committee on local arrangements shall be appointed to consist of not less than three nor more than five members of the Society, preferably residing in the locality at which each annual meeting of the Society takes place. Its duty shall be to care for and supervise all the details of the local arrangements for such annual meeting, including the edifice in which the same shall be held.

Section 6. A special committee on nominations shall be appointed to consist of not less than two nor more than five members of the Society, and no candidate for office shall be debarred therefrom by reason of his membership of this committee. Its duty shall be to report a list of nominees as officers and additional members of the Executive Council of the Society for election at the annual meetings of the Society.

Section 7. The right to make additional nominations from the floor at the annual meetings of the Society on the part of any duly-qualified member thereof is not abridged in any way by the provisions of Section 6 hereof.

Section 8. A special committee on programme shall be appointed to consist of three members, of whom the Corresponding Secretary shall be one. Its duty shall be to prepare and suitably print and distribute the programme of each annual meeting of the Society. It shall endeavor to secure appropriate publicity therefor, and shall have the right to determine the fitness and availability of papers to be submitted at such annual meetings, and the determination of the time to be allotted to each for presentation thereat.

Section 9. Special committees shall be appointed by the President pursuant to resolution of the Society or its Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.

FUNDS.

Section 1. The permanent fund of the Society shall consist of the donations or bequests made to it, the payments received from members for life, and the interest and accumulations of the same. It shall not be drawn against except by and with the approval of the Executive Council by a formal vote to that end. The permanent fund shall be kept and used primarily to further research work in which the Society as such may be interested.

Section 2. The President shall have power at any time to authorize the payment of a sum or sums, not exceeding fifty dollars in the aggregate, in a single instance, out of the general fund of the Society, for the purpose of subventioning research work of any nature approved by him.

Section 3. The publication fund of the Society, as at present constituted, shall be employed so far as possible to defray the cost of the publications issued by the Society. Payments out of this fund shall be made by the Treasurer upon vouchers signed by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly.

Section 4. The general fund of the Society shall be employed to defray the current running expenses of the Society. Payments out of this fund shall be made by the Treasurer upon vouchers signed by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly.

ARTICLE VII.

SEAL.

Section 1. The seal of the Society shall consist of the following design: In the field a scroll on the face of which appear the words (in Hebrew), *זכר ימות עולם*, and on the circumference, American Jewish Historical Society.

ARTICLE VIII.

AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. These by-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any annual meeting of the Society, notice of such amendment having been given in the printed programme of such meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

Section 2. To entitle a proposed amendment to these by-laws to be included in the programme of an annual meeting of the Society, it must be formulated in writing, signed by not less than five members of the Society, communicated to the Corresponding Secretary not less than sixty days before the date of the annual meeting of the Society at which action thereon is contemplated, and notified to the members of the Society not less than ten days before the annual meeting thereof.

LIST OF MEMBERS.¹

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

- Elkan N. Adler, 46 & 47 London Wall, E. C., London, England.
Prof. George Lincoln Burr, President White Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
William Vincent Byars, 425 N. Taylor Avenue, Kirkwood, St. Louis County, Mo.
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Frank Cundall, F.S.A., Institute of Jamaica, Kingston, Jamaica, B. W. I.
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¹ This list is corrected to 1934. Kindly notify the corresponding secretary of all errors and changes therein.

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